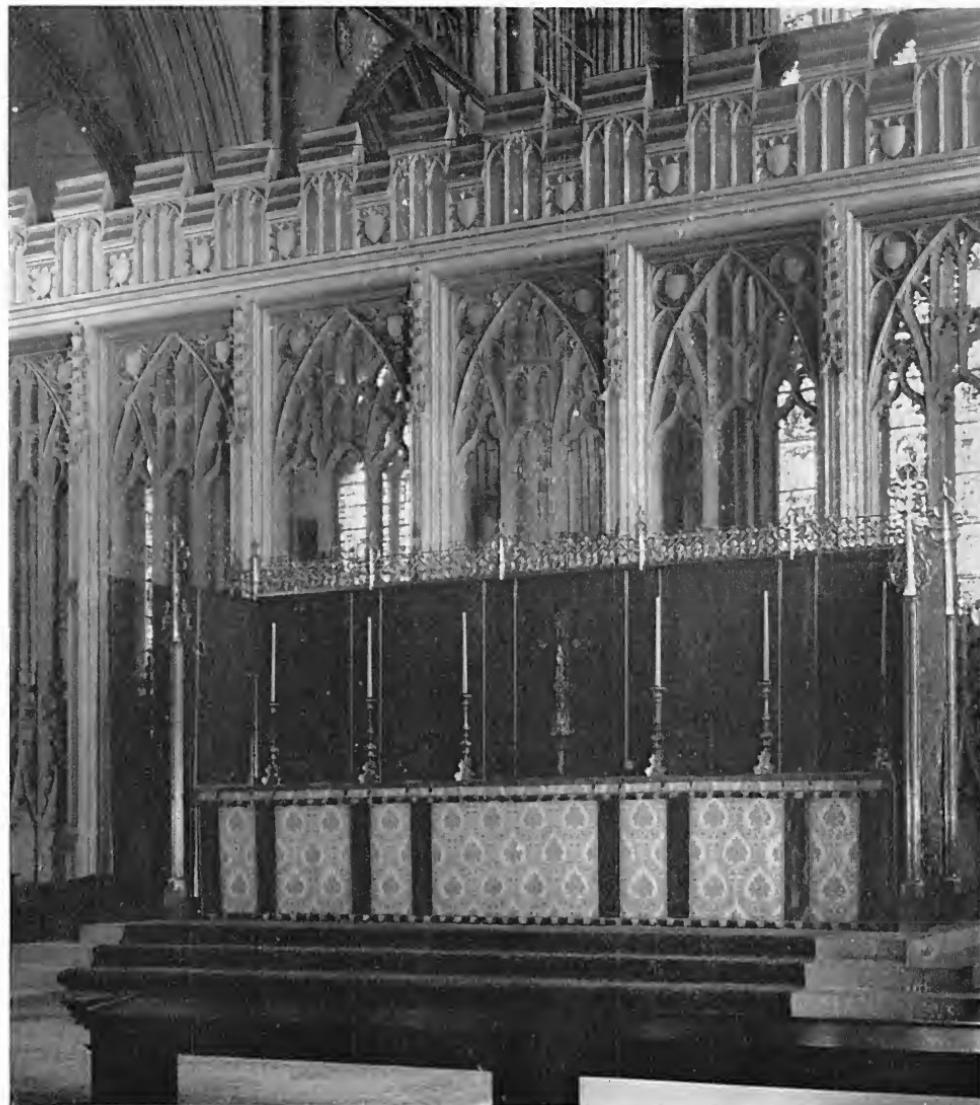


THE RIVERS OF THE FLOOD



I. THE HIGH ALTAR OF YORK MINSTER, 1960

BX
5121
477

DOM ANSELM HUGHES

Nashdom Abbey

THE RIVERS OF THE FLOOD

A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF THE
CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Fluminis impetus laetificat civitatem Dei
Psalm 46: 4



THE FAITH PRESS

7 TUFTON STREET LONDON SW1

MOREHOUSE-BARLOW CO. INC. NEW YORK U.S.A.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1961

© *The Pershore and Nashdom Trust, 1961*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
in 11 point Baskerville type
BY THE FAITH PRESS LTD.
LEIGHTON BUZZARD

PREAMBLE

WITH some trepidation and with the permission of my superiors I have accepted an invitation to set down in print something about the Catholic Revival in the English Church during the present century. Now I imagine that the full-dress historical volumes of modern times are very largely compiled from the analytic study of contemporary documents and correspondence left by great official personages. But for history to be fully understood it must surely be illuminated by the lives and experiences and reactions of humbler folk : otherwise historical studies will be in danger of losing touch with the realities of our common human nature, and if they suffer this loss there will almost certainly be some degree of failure in the accuracy of their interpretations. Anything like an obsession with prominent personalities, or with statistics and dates and Acts of Parliament, must swiftly fog the mind which is not taking into account the man in the street.

This book has been written quite simply from the angle of one who has never known any other than the Catholic religion, nor has been so much as tempted to toy with Revised Versions of the One Faith ; who has had the unmerited good fortune to have been born of Catholic parents and to have been brought up in a family where religious observance was the natural element in which we lived, where ‘public school religion’ was merely a temporary necessary evil with no real impact on life. It is therefore unblushingly narrow-minded. Some attempt at a further expansion of what is implied in this exclusive, absolutist, and even arrogant standpoint is reserved for the final chapter. But there are two remarks which ought to find place here.

First : there are two types which are held by tradition to walk with their eyes cast down—Bunyan’s Man with the Muck Rake, and the Benedictine Monk. Now the motives which underlie this habit are by no means identical. John Bunyan’s man is hunting for unpleasant matter ; while the monk is trying to avoid useless and distracting things. But his eyes, if downcast, are not kept

closed ; and in the course of his lowly observation he is prone to notice, more often than the average man, certain objects sticking out in the pathway. These are recognizable by the simple eye as the clay feet of certain well-known and widely-worshipped idols. Here and there in these pages an effort has been made to present such clay feet in their proper context, in which process some hitherto received opinions may have to be overturned. But it is the writer's hope that no feelings will be wounded thereby.

Second : something which I wrote recently in another connection was dignified in the pages of *The Times* by the adjective 'feline.' Now I am devoted to cats. But they have other things besides claws. They have a poise which indicates an interior life, serene, and oblivious to every sort of blandishment, save when danger looms and the claws are unsheathed. They are inferior to dogs in the matter of affectionate fidelity and what is practically indistinguishable from intelligence, but surpass them in their apparent intuitional knowledge—which they share with very small infants—of that unseen world beyond the boundaries of time and space which we also hope to enjoy when print and paper are no more. Could I but imitate and practise that feline inner serenity, based on the sure and certain knowledge of Divine Providence overruling all things in the English Church for good, happy were I. And if the events of the past half century have been such as to call at times for the feline claw, blame not the writer but those who precipitated such events.

I have tried to make a practice of referring to bishops and archbishops by their own names instead of those of their sees, unless the identity is sufficiently obvious. While preparing this book far too much time has been expended over the useful lists at the end of *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, trying to verify whether it was Blomfield or Tait who ruled over the diocese of London in some particular year, or whether Gore had yet left Worcester for Birmingham or Birmingham for Oxford, for the author to lack sympathy with readers who may be placed in like difficulty without the convenience of a *Crockford* lying ready to hand.

And if you find that you dislike this book very much after the

first few pages, please try the last chapter before casting it away.

Acknowledgements are made here with much gratitude for ready help and advice from many friends. Where such advice has not been followed, the responsibility is mine alone : but I think it is true to say that in most cases I have been satisfied that these others have a fuller knowledge and a better judgment about certain topics that I possess, and the fruit of their labours has been garnered with unhesitating greed.

If this tale of helpers is not complete, a full apology is tendered to any absentees. Among those present should be named Dr. Nigel Abercrombie, Mr. Peter F. Anson, Mr. Herbert Ashley, the Revd. Prebendary C. L. Gage-Brown, the Revd. George Chambers, the Revd. F. P. Coleman, the Revd. Marcus Donovan, the Revd. Father Gabriel Hebert, s.s.m., the Revd. Canon Cheslyn Jones, the Revd. Canon E. A. Maycock, the Revd. John L. Oldland, the Revd. H. Francome Painter, the Revd. Canon H. Pickles, the Revd. Cyril Pocknee, Mr. Maurice B. Reckitt, the Revd. Harold Riley, the Revd. C. P. Shaw, Mr. Peter Winckworth, and the Revd. R. E. Young.

To these names should be added those of the brethren of my Community, who must often have concealed their boredom on the numerous occasions when sundry topics were unblushingly thrust into their conversation at recreation times, with the object of stimulating memories and gathering gossip and anecdotes about the subjects dealt with hereinafter. Thanks are also due to colleagues on the Board of the Faith Press Limited and to its staff, who have made the compilation of this book a pleasure to

THE AUTHOR

CONTENTS

Preamble	<i>page</i> 5
I Introductory	13
II The Dam Busters	19
III The Twentieth Century Opens	27
IV Putting on the Brake	37
V The Decline and Fall of the Sarum Empire	46
VI Life and Liberty	57
VII To the Albert Hall	67
VIII 1928 and all that	76
IX The Twenty-one	91
X The Centenary and after	97
XI South India	102
XII The Religious Orders	112
XIII Highways and Hedges	118
XIV The Arts in general : and Music in particular	128
XV The Ideal of a Christian Church	144
Index	154

ILLUSTRATIONS

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| I. THE HIGH ALTAR OF YORK MINSTER | <i>frontispiece</i> |
| II. RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
CHARLES LINDLEY, VISCOUNT HALIFAX | <i>facing p. 30</i> |
| III. JOHN KENSIT as 'The Brawler' | <i>facing p. 31</i> |
| IV. THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF
WESTMINSTER | <i>facing p. 46</i> |
| V. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHICHESTER
CHURCH OF THE HOLY REDEEMER,
CLERKENWELL | <i>facing p. 47</i> |

INTRODUCTORY

TWENTY-EIGHT years ago the centenary of the Oxford Movement was observed with appropriate rejoicings, and the occasion was also marked by a spate of Centenary publications. Many of these books and pamphlets gave historical resumés of events in the century that had passed, and most of them dealt more fully with the Tractarians than with their not less interesting successors. The first quarter of that century (1833–57) has in fact been almost over-written; for the great personalities of the original leaders, the long career of Pusey right up to his death in 1882, and what is somewhat romantically described as the ‘mystery of Newman,’ have proved irresistible lures for those with a taste for exploring recent history. The events of yet more recent periods are, however, no less important in their own way, and no less exciting. One such period—that of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, and the subsequent imprisonments—has received its due share of attention. So also have the events which led up to the fate of the luckless Proposed Prayer Book of 1928.

The Catholic Movement has had a number of historians, good, bad and indifferent. There is no intention now of inflicting on the reader yet another History of the Catholic Revival, but only of placing on record notes and opinions about the events of the past sixty years with which the writer may have had some degree of personal acquaintance, adding for the sake of completeness brief accounts of other matters where no personal touch occurred, and prefixing short prolegomena. Of the real histories, the later part of W. L. Knox, *The Catholic Movement in the Church of England* (1923) is one of the very best: and at the Centenary of 1933 some others appeared. Owing in some measure to this centenary output, not much has appeared since, the emphasis having shifted rather to works on the subject of Anglicanism as a whole, with some long-overdue study of the period which immediately preceded the Tractarian revival.

Of the older histories, one of the most readable and illumina-

ting is S. Baring-Gould, *The Church Revival* (1914), but nearly half a century has elapsed since its publication, and there is a gap to be filled. I could not hope to attain to anything like Baring-Gould's distinction of style and authority of presentation : but I have always tried to keep *The Church Revival* before my mind as an example to be followed, faint though the resemblance must be. So in the pages which follow, the lighter side of things has purposely not been eschewed where it seems to provide an apt illustration, on the grounds that only so can we hope to gain a true picture of the Movement; which is not a closely defined organization constructed out of (or in defiance of) Acts of Parliament or of Convocation, but a body of living men, women and children who are striving to live in union with the whole 'church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.'¹

Now 'contemporary history' is almost a contradiction in terms, for we cannot begin to evaluate and to appraise a period until it is all over, all completed, and (very often) until the careers and the lives of those who have been specially prominent in any one era have come to a close. But there is surely space for some kind of comment and chronicle bordering on the historical : something which, while it aims higher than the mere diary, or the journalistic pamphlet, will endeavour to preserve the picture of happenings while they are still alive in memory, and to essay some sort of interpretation, something which may contribute to the sources of our history when it comes to be written by a competent hand in years to come.

The Catholic Movement in the English Church has now been proceeding along its path for close on 130 years. This is a very long time indeed, as religious movements go, for it is a period equivalent to that between 1534 and 1662 ; and what an immense amount happened in the course of English history between Henry VIII and the Restoration of Charles II ! At the earlier of these two dates the payment of Peter's Pence to Rome was forbidden by Henry (for the financial angle of the Reformation was never unimportant); and at the latter date the Act for the Uniformity of Public Worship was passed with the intention of settling once and for all the system of worship in England and

¹ Ephesians 1 : 23.

the relation of the Church to the State, to which Act a Schedule was annexed and sealed in the form known as the Book of Common Prayer, quoted usually as ‘the Prayer Book,’ or as ‘BCP,’ or even plain ‘1662.’

Now it has always been reckoned that the Catholic Movement began with John Keble’s Assize Sermon in 1833. At the present time it has therefore enjoyed a life as long as that of the Unsettlement of the Sixteenth Century,² more frequently styled by the rather question-begging title of ‘The Reformation’: but unlike that period, which came to an end in 1662 (if not before), the Catholic Movement is still going ahead and showing no signs of coming to a halt. The rate of its advance may be slower, and probably is: but that is quite in the natural order of things; because the momentum of a flood dies down as its front widens and the area of its advance is occupied, whereas the total mass of movement is no less and may very well be greater. Indeed, as it pours through the breach in the dam the gap widens, and what pours through is not diminished in any way, because its source is inexhaustible. The dykes of the Reformation have been well and truly breached. They will never (God willing) be repaired, and the flood of grace and truth pours through to ‘make glad the city of God, the tabernacle of the Most Highest.’³

Not only in extent of time, but also in extent of place, do the events of this last 130 years extend farther than those of the period from 1534 to 1662. For the Act of Uniformity affected England, Wales and Ireland only; whereas the Catholic Movement has affected not only the whole British Empire, but also the United States of America (where it began almost simultaneously and in some respects even earlier) and parts of Africa and Asia lying beyond the boundaries of the Empire. It is a phenomenon unique in the history of the Church,⁴ for no comparable religious movement, development, revival, or change has had anything like so long a life. In other similar cases, with the deaths of the original movers and of the younger generation

² I wrote this phrase only a few weeks before reading Dudley Symon, *Roman and Uncondemned* (1959), where the author explodes very effectively the mendacious and misleading phrase ‘Elizabethan Settlement’ (pp. 76–7).

³ Psalm 46: 4.

⁴ ‘These changes and growths are a thing which has not its parallel in Church history’—Nigel Abercrombie in *The Dublin Review*, vol. xcvi (1933), p. 74.

which had been personally inspired by them the impetus was lost, and the movement slowed down and halted, or degenerated into something else, or was swamped by some other cause arising to take its place.

But to-day the Catholic Movement in the English Church is certainly stronger than it ever was, and it shows no signs of fading away; though there will always be prophets to warn us that it has run its course. They and their predecessors were saying the same thing fifty years ago (*I heard them*), and they will be saying the same thing fifty years hence, no doubt. I find myself, for instance (as Bishop Gore would have said), profoundly convinced that my very good friend Dudley Symon is mistaken when he writes of the Movement having entered in recent years upon 'a modern phase of frustration and even retrogression,'⁵ and enlarges on his theme. It may be that the difference between his conclusions and mine are merely temperamental, and it may be that I am more optimistic by nature, and that I speak as a fool. (But so did S. Paul.) Or it may be that he has gathered his impressions from Convocation debates and Lambeth Conference or Anglo-Catholic Congress reports, from the *Church Times* and from current literature; whereas I for my part have never given much weight to official pronouncements from official circles, just because the final effects of such things, in my whole experience of the last sixty years, can only be summed up in that blessed word 'nugatory.' I have always tried to form my conclusions from what I have been able to observe in the parishes, and to locate the actual position of the battle from that of the front line, not that of Battalion H.Q.

These prognostications of a stoppage in the Movement are not always confined to friendly critics within its own ranks. They are often uttered by the adversary. As a rule, such prophecies are tendentious and polemical, and are not seldom to be found posing as if they were genuine opinions from inside the ark instead of outside. In such cases, they can almost certainly be ignored, and dismissed as part of the 'Brakemanship' campaign, to which the fourth chapter in this book is devoted. When they are uttered genuinely from outside, they can be heard not only from

⁵ Op. cit., p. 124.

protestant opponents but also from disgruntled 'partners in the other ship.'⁶

There was a phase in the liberation of France in 1944 during which all eyes were directed towards the rapid advance of General Patton's armoured forces on Le Mans. Not so many months later we were all looking at Arnhem, and Le Mans was to most of us not much more than a memory of the recent past. It was still part of the movement, for it was still part of Liberated France; but it was no longer making history. And so it will be perforce in these pages. S. Alban's, Holborn, made history in the days of Mackonochie, though these were rather before our time. But these days passed and, except for Father Stanton's funeral in 1913, S. Alban's did not make history again until the original Butterfield church was destroyed in the blitz. S. Alban's went on; and the Movement goes on: but the history of a movement is always that of the front line, the point at which territory is occupied or reoccupied, the point at which the opposition is encountered. The strategy and the tactics of the adversary have to be taken into consideration, and the way in which they are met, and the reasons for their failure.

Statistics and figures as to how far the Catholic Movement has now penetrated, even if it were possible to collect and present them on an exhaustive scale, might very well prove misleading, because they have to be based upon external facts alone. Individual observers can contribute facts of observation, but to paint the whole picture is quite obviously beyond the reach of any one brush. Certain it is, however, that the Movement has penetrated into every corner of the Anglican Communion and (which is more to our point) that it is still continuing to penetrate it and in many respects to dominate it.

Though well aware that I am laying myself open to the charge of attempting to generalize from particulars, or of trying to represent exceptional cases as normal, I am going to mention two things. First, that fifty-five years ago my family moved from London to Sevenoaks in Kent; and that after exploring the surrounding country on my bicycle I was able to return home on two occasions and report that I had found a church in the neighbourhood where Mass was sung on Sundays, and the vest-

⁶ Cf. H. Ross Williamson in *The Walled Garden* (1956), chap. xvi.

ments worn : namely Riverhead (but linen only at that date) and Kemsing. Sevenoaks at that time had got no further than coloured stoles and choral morning prayer at the sacred hour of 11.0. Second, that in the neighbourhood where I now live there are two towns of sufficient size to need two or three churches, and that there are in the whole region nineteen churches and chapels-of-ease. In seventeen of these the vestments are worn, the two churches which do not use them being the ‘minority’ churches in the two towns aforesaid. There would probably be just about nineteen churches in the Sevenoaks area in 1905 ; so that in the intervening period the boot has been gently but firmly transferred to the other leg.

We might compare also Sir Frank Markham’s remarks about the northern part of Buckinghamshire in *The Nineteen Hundreds*, quoted below at p. 25. And an archdeacon in East Anglia, which is usually regarded from the Anglo-Catholic point of view as a ‘backward area,’ informed me last year that in a certain deanery in his diocese only one church did not use vestments for Mass.

THE DAM BUSTERS

READERS who are well acquainted with the main outline of our subject from 1833 need not delay further by reading this second chapter, and could go on at once to the third. But for the convenience of others, it has been thought useful to insert here a short summary of events between 1833 and 1898.

The first of these two dates is that which has always been taken as the beginning of the Movement, when John Keble, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, delivered an Assize Sermon on 'National Apostasy.' Before long he came to be regarded as the leader of a small band of young dons at Oxford (whence the name 'Oxford Movement' has frequently been used in place of 'Catholic Movement') of whom the most famous names are those of Newman and Pusey. Newman left the English Church in 1845 and subsequently became a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church : Pusey persevered to the end, dying in 1882. These men and their associates—of whom Hurrell Froude, Hugh James Rose, Charles Marriott, J. B. Mozley and Isaac Williams were the most influential—published a number of essays and papers under the title of *Tracts for the Times*; and a third title for the Movement is that which was originally applied to it, 'Tractarian.' This name is still in use, but with the limited historical sense of belonging to the period from 1833 to (roughly) 1850. Other nicknames which have passed out of use are 'Puseyite' and 'Ritualistic.' I was once (seriously) called a Puseyite when visiting in Walworth in 1912, and may perhaps claim to be the last survivor of that genus.

The appearance of the Tracts was greeted with interest and appreciation, and without much opposition for a time. At that date men had had experience, or knowledge, of a long period of gradual decline in the efficiency and influence of the English Church. In the 170 years that had elapsed since the Act of Uniformity, except for the brief period of the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14), sovereigns with Calvinist or Lutheran predilections and backgrounds—William of Orange, and those of the

House of Hanover—had officiated as the ‘Supreme Governours’ of the Church of England as by Law Established, and the results were pitiful. In those days the bishops were not nominated to cathedral chapters for the farce of election by the Prime Minister, but by the Crown in person (a point which will be discussed later in Chapter VI), and the Sovereign’s selection was as a rule a very poor one. So much so, that by 1833, when Reform was in the air, the Church in this land was thought by some to be in danger of complete extinction. The impetus of the ‘Evangelical’ movement of the late nineteenth century was exhausted: some of its adherents were already in schism¹: others had turned from positive ‘evangelicalism’ to the negative and more exciting militant protestantism: others remained in a fundamentalist puritanism, of which the chief tenets were bibliolatry, sabbatarianism and teetotalism. It was not therefore in the least surprising that good and thoughtful men, of the laity just as much as of the clergy, welcomed the upsurgence of this new Oxford school of writers; and there was a time at which it seemed likely that the Oxford Movement would flood the whole English Church, from the bench of bishops downwards without delay.

But before long a change came about, for the old spirit of ‘no Popery,’ which allied itself with even more disreputable elements, was still strong; and it worked in well with the natural conservatism of the Englishman, more especially of the country squire type. After a decade or so a violent opposition to the Tractarian movement got going, and it was reinforced by some of the more shabby dregs of the Low Church and so-called ‘Evangelical’ parties. Small riots and brawling took place in some churches, the best-known of these being those which were organized at S. George’s-in-the-East, near the London Docks,² where the offences were no more grievous than the surplice being retained in the pulpit instead of being changed for a black Geneva gown, and a surpliced choir singing the Office in a mild attempt to copy cathedral usages. My father was taken in his boyhood to S. George’s, as to a show, and he told me that his principal memory was that of a man near by, who insisted on

¹ ‘In 1830 the Evangelical party could boast that they had alienated from the Church the greater portion of the people, and increased the number of meeting-houses from 35 to 1,000’ (Baring-Gould, op. cit., p. 92).

² For a good account of these riots, see Baring-Gould, op. cit., pp. 232–7.

saying, or rather shouting, the Responses as loud as he could while the choir was singing them; but that otherwise things seemed to have quietened down by the time his 'treat' took place.

These disturbances were organized by certain pressure groups, which formed themselves into protestant societies, some of them reputed to be wealthy. The most offensive of these was the 'Church Association'—using the word 'offensive' in its literal sense as of a party which is not content with mere counter-action but launches a direct offensive. They directed their activities not so much against the Tractarians or their more immediate followers the 'sub-Tractarians,' men who were as a rule too solid in their scholarship and position to be easy marks, but rather against the rank and file of the working clergy, the men who had dared to translate their principles into practice, and had brought back the Sacraments and the glory of worship to the English people, so long starved on the meagre diets of puritanism, foreign protestantism, methodism and latitudinarianism.

The tactics of the opposition (they had no strategy) took the form of appealing to statute law, as embodied in the Act of Uniformity, 1662. This was, of course, a double-edged weapon, for sundry passages in the Schedule Annexed to the Act (or Book of Common Prayer, when viewed from the religious rather than the legalistic angle) had a most inconvenient way of turning in the prosecutors' hands and wounding them, notably the Ornaments Rubric prefixed to the Order of Holy Communion. Sundry good priests were harried after this fashion; Denison, arch-deacon of Taunton; Bennett of Frome; Liddell of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge; Mackonochie of S. Alban's, Holborn; Purchas of Brighton; Ridsdale of Folkestone; and others. The offences alleged were sometimes doctrinal but more often trifling (as they would seem to us to-day) details of ornaments such as altar crosses and candlesticks, or ceremonies such as bowing or genuflexion or the sign of the cross in blessing. Cases lost in lower courts were promptly taken in appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council: and in nearly all cases the upshot was the same; as the authority appealed to was secular and not spiritual in its origin, the priests in question declined to render obedience to the Privy Council judgments, and the position became a kind of stalemate, with the Movement steadily gaining ground.

But this state of things was by no means pleasing to the archbishop (Tait) of Canterbury. In 1874 he and Disraeli concocted the iniquitous Public Worship Regulation Act. Davidson (then chaplain to Tait) writes naïvely on July 22nd, 1877, to his father, 'I am off to coach Lord Beaconsfield's secretary upon the working of the Public Worship Regulation Act.'³ By this machinery five good priests were actually sent to prison—T. Pelham Dale of S. Vedast, Foster Lane, in the city of London; Arthur Tooth of S. James, Hatcham; R. W. Enraged of Holy Trinity, Bordesley; Sidney Faithorne Green of S. John's, Miles Platting; and John Bell-Cox of S. Margaret's, Liverpool. In the case of Hatcham an intruding clergyman, arriving with instructions from Tait (who was not even the bishop of that diocese) to conduct divine service after his own fashion, was met by the churchwardens who, in pursuance of their canonical and statutory duties, refused him admission. He thereupon sought aid from the police, who (in the words of Tait himself)⁴ 'were naturally called upon to remove the offender, who happened to be the Incumbent of the parish.' (Tait is speaking quite seriously and has no idea of the ridiculous position in which this phrase places him.) 'The police, as I understand, but I may be mistaken, refused to act . . . they retired from the scene.' The name of the attempted intruder was Randall Thomas Davidson, then serving his apprenticeship as chaplain to Tait.

The period of incarceration in these cases was only a short one, except in the case of Miles Platting, where the unfortunate priest was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle gaol for 595 days in spite of efforts by Tait to procure his release after more than a year had passed. This outrageous process of imprisoning priests for declining to obey the instructions of Lord Penzance, a judge who had been specially transferred from the Divorce Court for the purpose of administering the Public Worship Regulation Act, shocked public opinion, which after a few years of this behaviour began to make itself felt. A steady stream of petitions poured into

³ G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson* (1935), vol. i, p. 39. The incident at Hatcham related at the end of this paragraph is not mentioned in this work, perhaps the only glaring omission in what is universally conceded to be a model of biography.

⁴ In a speech to the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, February 15th, 1882 (*Chronicle of Convocation*, p. 55).

the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation, and even penetrated into the recesses of the Bounty Office in Dean's Yard, where the Upper House sat in long-winded⁵ conclave. In the end the archbishop was rightly ashamed of himself: and the provision in the 1874 act, inserted against his wishes, by which a diocesan bishop could veto the prosecution of one of his priests, resulted once more in failure for the prosecutors and (as the bishops lamented in the Bounty Office) a steady growth in the spread of Catholic principles throughout the country, accompanied as a rule by their outward expression in decency of order and beauty of worship. The episcopal veto was used in thirty-three cases between 1874 and 1906,⁶ but the decayed P.W.R.A. had been dead as mutton long before the latter date.

As soon as the failure of the Act was manifest, the Church Association tried new tactics. Assured now that they could not obtain satisfactory results from legislation or legal pronouncements which had no pretence of spiritual authority to back them up, they staged an impudent prosecution of the well-loved Edward King, bishop of Lincoln, which took place before the archbishop of Canterbury (Benson) sitting in his library at Lambeth in February 1889. The result was a rather grudging sort of acquittal, though by way of a sop to the protestants it was solemnly declared illegal to make the sign of the cross 'in the air' when giving the blessing. It is not known whether some law-abiding clergyman made the experiment of using water or some other element in which to bless his flock: but it is quite certain that the ridiculous prohibition was and always has been meaningless.

Meanwhile in many parts of the country the Revival had gone on quietly from strength to strength. In 1860 the English Church Union⁷ had been founded, with Lord Halifax as its president from 1868 to 1919 and 1927 to 1933, with the hard-hitting and efficient H. W. Hill as its Secretary from 1899 until 1919. It is quite impossible to recapture the atmosphere of things as they

⁵ This epithet is justified, for in this period a resolution was proposed in the Upper House that speeches should be limited to one hour, and was rejected.

⁶ Bell, op. cit., i, 133, note 1.

⁷ One of the best pictures of the E.C.U. can be gained from the many pertinent passages in the second volume of J. G. Lockhart, *Charles Lindley, Viscount Halifax* (1935).

were during that period without taking into account the continual presence in the background of the reliable and extensive E.C.U., which was always prepared at that time to come to the assistance of any priest who might find himself threatened with unjust treatment or even with persecution under the cover of legal proceedings on account of his faith and practice. In spite of its power and influence—in its palmy days it could count 40,000 members and upwards—the E.C.U. was never a very wealthy society. In 1919 its total resources amounted to no more than £22,000, though they had been rather higher in 1914, just before the war; whereas in 1890 the Church Association had been able to boast that so far back as 1865 ‘the Protestant laity of England, guided by godly clergy’ had subscribed more than £50,000 for the purposes of their unpleasant campaigns.⁸

The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, set up in 1904 and reporting in 1906, recommended that certain practices should ‘forthwith be made to cease . . . by the authority belonging to the Bishops and, if necessary, by proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts.’ This pompous and silly demand was met by the bishops with the contempt of silence, at any rate as far as the final clause went. They had had enough of the Privy Council judgments and the confusion that overtook Erastian minds at their illogical and inconsistent decisions. There was, however, one instance⁹ in which Bishop Paget of Oxford was so ill-advised as to initiate a prosecution in the Court of Arches. In this case, that of the Reverend O. P. Henly of Wolverton S. Mary (now known as S. Mary-the-Virgin, Stony Stratford), it is not easy to see how the E.C.U. could have acted in his defence consistently with its own traditions, because Father Henly refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Court of Arches, which was a ‘spiritual’ Court. He had been cited before the Dean of Arches for reserving the Blessed Sacrament in the open church and (a terrible crime at that period) for committing Benediction. His refusal to appear or to defend the case was presumably on the ground that the Court had been created by secular jurisdiction, not by an unfettered Act of Convocation. On August 13th, 1909,

⁸ Bell, op. cit., i, 143.

⁹ According to the evidence of the Church Association before the ‘Archbishops’ Commission on the Relations between Church and State’ of 1935 (*Report*, vol. ii, p. 57).

two clerical emissaries from the bishop, backed by an inspector and a bodyguard of policemen, arrived from Oxford—the Oxford Movement in sad and disgraceful reverse—to go through the formalities of changing locks and keys on the church doors under the eye of the secular arm. And the aged verger committed suicide a few weeks later. The local historian summed up the case well forty years later in these words :

'It is all a pitiful story . . . to-day reservation of the Sacrament is the rule rather than the exception in our local churches, which implies that in spite of his condemnation, Father Henly was only a generation ahead of his time.'¹⁰

It may be remarked that up to this point these pages have been concerned with little more than ritual controversy, rioting and persecution, and that nothing has been said as yet about the really important things—the truths of the Faith, the teaching handed down from the long history of the Catholic Church and reasserted by the Tractarians, the devoted work of great priests in the industrial areas of the North and the Midlands and the quiet English country-side, as well as by the London Docks, in the slums of South London, and in the seaside towns of Sussex and Kent. But this book does not aspire to be a doctrinal or devotional commentary on the Revival, nor yet another Manual of the Catholic Religion : it is intended only as an account of events as they impressed themselves upon one who has lived through them and had some opportunities of seeing or speaking with a few of the leading personalities who were engaged in the struggle.

There is no doubt but that the general atmosphere at the turn of the century, as I recall it, was one of armed defence against the adversary. Kensit (to be introduced in the next chapter) was abroad, the bishops were fuming and foaming, the archbishop was crying, 'The sands have run out.'¹¹ And though steady patient work, unrecognized and unrewarded in this life, was being done throughout the land by a consecrated clergy and laity, the things that rode on the surface (i.e. the superficialities), the things that exerted an influence and left an impression on the memory, the things that came ultimately to sway public opinion and shape the course of later happenings, in Life and

¹⁰ S. F. Markham, *The Nineteen Hundreds* (1951), p. 63.

¹¹ On March 11th, 1903 (Bell, op. cit., i, 399).

Liberty and Congresses and Prayer Book Revision, were these same external struggles for what it became customary to describe, in the advertisements of the *Church Times* for curates or seaside boarding-houses, 'full Catholic privileges.' It must have been somewhere about the time that the sands ran out that I heard and can still remember the actual vocal tones of solemn words from a preacher, a priest of great wisdom and sanctity, telling us from the pulpit, 'There may be many Peters in prison before this year is out': because with the small boy's literal way of looking at things I remember calculating at once that they had six months and a bit to go, and that might well make it May 1903. And though the good father's expectation of penal action to implement the archbishop's threat of 'stern and drastic action' with which the out-run sands were to be followed up or replaced (the metaphor is difficult; strictly speaking, the hour-glass ought to be made to stand on its head) was not fulfilled; yet the work of harrying the 'extreme' priests where it could be done safely without stirring up too powerful a defence—Headington, Wolverton, Cury, Taunton, are some cases in point—went on with renewed vigour now that the archbishop had proposed himself as fugleman. Such was, in very brief summary, the position of things at the time when my earliest memories of matters ecclesiastical begin.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY OPENS

HOW well do I remember being carried off by an aunt at the age of eleven (mine, not hers) on the gloomy morning of January 17th, 1901, for a special treat which was nothing less than a funeral, and that in a cathedral. The great historian Mandell Creighton, who had been bishop of London since 1896, was to be buried in S. Paul's: and as it was during his brief tenure of the see of London that the Kensit and Harcourt ebullitions broke out, that occasion will serve for a starting point. We enjoyed the Dead March in *Saul*, with the muffled drums, and I am almost certain that we were treated to Spohr's 'Blest are the departed' (the musical part of my memory is the strongest, and I can still hear in mind 'God save the Queen' as it was played *ad infinitum* for the marriage of the Duke of York and Princess Alexandra in 1893, more clearly than I can visualize the handkerchiefs printed with their portraits and sold in the streets). And sixty-seven years later I rise from the study of sixteenth century music to be reminded that there is one obsolete instrument from that period which was actually sounded in public so recently as July 1898, in which month Sir William Vernon Harcourt indited the first of a series of letters to *The Times*, wherein he began to bray upon the well-worn Protestant Trumpet. And one who rallied enthusiastically to his side was a certain bookseller in Paternoster Row, John Kensit, who had at this time turned from the sale of indecent literature (for which he had been fined) to the more lucrative and less risky trade of purveying protestant literature.

Small boys were not allowed to read the daily newspapers in well-conducted families in the reign of Queen Victoria, so that I never saw Harcourt's letters to *The Times* until a copy of a reprint of the nineteen letters, published in 1899 under the title of 'Lawlessness in the Church,' turned up among the 240 pamphlets in the Firminger collection at Nashdom. The letters are turgid productions, notable only in that the venom of the writer was directed more at the bishops than at the 'lawless clergymen.'

But I remember hearing at the time of their publication references in the pulpits and elsewhere to the activities of Harcourt's disreputable henchmen Kensit and Porcelli, a Ramsgate dissenter¹ (not one of the Warwickshire Porcellis, I believe; and a most strangely papistical surname for so stern a protestant). My father used to attend Mass in those days at the Church of the Ascension, in Lavender Hill, Battersea, and he brought home one day the story of how one of the Kensit emissaries had been detected entering the church before High Mass; and of how four churchwardens and other fit persons (how apposite is the rubrical description here!) had quietly occupied seats before and behind him and on either side; of how when he arose to blaspheme at the Elevation of the Host the man behind rose with him and clapped his hands over the brawler's mouth, while they on either side pinioned his arms, and the man in front swiftly moved the nearby chairs and ushered the cortège out of church. My father said that it had been done so neatly that worshippers only a few rows in front were unaware until afterwards that anything untoward had taken place.

S. Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens, Kensington, was another happy hunting-ground for Kensit, who on one occasion failed to secure a summons against the vicar thereof, Father Westall, for assault, because he and his Sunday suit had been splashed with Holy Water during the Asperges.

In 1904, some six years later, a Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline was appointed. The archbishop from 1903 was Randall Davidson, whom we have already met at Hatcham. Knowing that Parliamentary authority was going to carry no weight with the Catholic clergy and laity, he persuaded Balfour to abandon the idea of a Parliamentary Committee in favour of a Royal Commission. Evidence to lay before this Commission was collected by paid spies of the soi-disant Church Association, one of whom, an atrocious ruffian called Rainbow, actually stole a consecrated Host for this purpose. To the credit of the Commissioners it must be said that they rebuked him sternly, declined to hear his evidence, and ordered him to withdraw. But they need not have weakened their position by adding,

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline* (1906), vol. i, p. 93.

'It is not for us to express judgment on your conduct.' Seeing that an archbishop and two bishops were present on the Commission, who had better right than they? It should be added that H. Miller, secretary of the Church Association, had at least the grace to express his disapproval when questioned about this outrage.²

This factory for evidence produced a situation not unlike that at Lavender Hill or S. Cuthbert's, handled in an equally satisfactory but more diverting manner by Father Noel of S. Barnabas', Oxford. Noel was conducting the children's Mass on some high festival, and during the offertory made his customary address to them in catechetical fashion, after this manner :

Father Noel. Now, children, you know this is a very great feast, don't you?

Children. Yes, father.

Father Noel. And you know it is very wrong to look round in church, don't you?

Children. Yes, father.

Father Noel. Then as it is a very great feast, would you like to have a special treat?

Children. Oh yes, father.

Father Noel. Very well, for a special treat you may all turn round and look. (*Children do so.*) Now tell me what you can see at the back of the church.

Children. Three men, father.

Father Noel. Yes. And what are they doing?

Children. They're writing in little books, father.

Father Noel. Yes, and do you know what they are writing in those little books, children?

Children. No, father.

Father Noel. They are writing all sorts of dreadful things about your poor old vicar, and they are going to try to get him sent to prison. (*Sensation.*) Now aren't those three men very wicked men, children?

Children (enthusiastically). Yes, father.

Father Noel. Now what shall we do about those three very wicked men? (*uneasy silence; there is no shortage of ideas floating about, but none of them seem suitable to suggest loud up.*) Shall I tell you what we will do about those three very wicked men, children?

Children (eagerly). Yes, father.

² Report, Questions 14490 and 15475.

Father Noel. Now we will kneel down, and we will all say a Hail Mary for those three very wicked men. ALL KNEEL.

Needless to say, when the devotion was completed there were some surreptitious glances towards the back of the nave; but the 'three wicked men had gone away, to be very sorry for their wickedness.' I cannot remember who told me this story, but it must have been fifty years ago or more. Father Noel was still living when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, though Cyril Hallett was then vicar of S. Barnabas'. I heard Noel preach there once, and he made the congregation rock with laughter with remarks about those who wanted to take the 'nots' out of the Ten Commandments and put them into the Athanasian Creed.

Less edifying than Noel's attitude, but perhaps rather more typical of our unregenerate human nature, was that of Mrs. Robinson, a stout old Vauxhall mother, who, as I was told, took her stance on the steps outside the door of S. Peter's armed with two long hatpins, and announcing in a loud voice, 'If them two —— comes any nearer I'll have their —— eyes out.'

I never enjoyed (what my adolescent years would have regarded as) the good fortune to be present at anything like a Kensit riot, though I did arrive on one occasion after it was all over, to behold nothing left but a top-hat in the gutter, the sole and unvenerated relic of a very minor fracas. The 'Wycliffe preacher' on that occasion had been routed by a pointed reminder of his boss John Kensit's unsuccessful career before he advanced from pornography to protestantism. In the new century the nuisance gradually died down, though 'Kensit ponds' were maintained in a few places; an exceptionally fine specimen is still to be seen at Carshalton. In 1902 Kensit unwisely provoked a disturbance by his blasphemies among the Irish Roman Catholics of Liverpool—a tougher lot than the churchgoers of Philbeach Gardens—was struck with a chisel and laid low. Shortly afterwards he died of double pneumonia, unconnected with the wound.³ But attention was being directed rather to the situation created by the 'Lambeth Opinions' of 1899, and to this we must now turn, while echoing the words of bishop

³ DNB (1901–11 volume).



RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON, ARCHBISHOP
OF CANTERBURY 1903-1928
I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought
(Eccl. ii. 11)

11
CHARLES
LINDLEY
VISCOUNT
HALIFAX
1839-
1934

*Behold . . .
God
answereth
him in
the joy of
his heart
(Eccl. v,
18-20)*



JOHN KENSIT
1853-1902
as 'The Brawler'
in a Misericord
at St Cuthbert's
Philbeach
Gardens
Kensington
(by kind
permission of
the Revd.
Prebendary
Gage-Brown)



Creighton, 'We are all agreed in regretting that there should be such a person as Mr. Kensit.'⁴

It is unnecessary to give much more than a passing mention of the Lambeth Opinions against the use of incense and processional lights which were delivered by the two archbishops of Canterbury and York on July 31st, 1899, for a vast amount of contemporary literature on the subject is available in print. Shortly after this date our own parish church was being enlarged, and it was closed for six weeks or so, during which time my parents took the opportunity of visiting elsewhere. I can remember among other churches those at Kennington, where a harvest thanksgiving was being celebrated at S. John the Divine in white vestments with a solemn procession; and approving parental comments after High Mass at S. Agnes, because the servers had carried their torches to and fro, in despite of archiepiscopal opinion.

A good short summary of this phase is given by Father J. Embry of S. Bartholomew's, Dover. He says 'The majority of priests chose the easier course and suspended the liturgical use of incense, or used it only outside the prescribed service' (this was the case at our own church for a few years). 'There were a few who remained firm to the appointed use. . . . There is little need to dwell further on the incense episode. It has long since gone the same way as other like attacks. Notwithstanding, it probably would not have done so, if the faithful remnant, in spite of petty ostracism, had not stood firm.'⁵ Indeed, we are now familiar with processional lights, if not with incense, in many of our cathedrals.

A case which attracted considerable public attention about this time was that of the Mission of the Holy Spirit, Newcastle-on-Tyne. John Lloyd, the bishop of that diocese, died suddenly in 1907, his last letter having been an appeal on behalf of the funds of this mission, which was just about to move from temporary accommodation in a converted dwelling-house into its permanent church buildings. The missioner, Vibert Jackson (afterwards bishop of the Windward Islands and still with us as vicar of South

⁴ [Louise] Creighton, *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton* (1905), vol. ii, p. 290.

⁵ *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross* (1931), p. 330.

Ascot while these lines are being written) held a general licence in the diocese from Bishop Lloyd. But the new bishop was one Norman D. J. Stratton, a plain Erastian protestant who had been transferred by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman from the see of Sodor and Man to that of Newcastle. On the grounds that the vestments were being worn, and that the Privy Council decisions were being flouted in other ways, Stratton refused to license the new buildings for the administration of the Sacraments; so that the missioner's only solution was to celebrate Mass in private houses for sick persons, of whom a regular supply was arranged, others being present as the rubric presupposes. This tiresome state of things continued for upwards of three years, after which the bishop, while still refusing a licence for the buildings, tolerated the administration of the Sacraments therein. In 1915 Stratton resigned, and the *impasse* came to an end. King Edward VII is reported to have remarked to Lord Halifax at this juncture: 'We'll never have another dam' Newcastle.' Nor did he; for Stratton was the last, and perhaps the least regretted, of the purely Erastian bishops of the Hanoverian era.

The first half of 1908, before going up to Oxford, was spent in the north of England, not very far from Middlesbrough. In that smoky town I made the acquaintance of the Revd. J. S. L. Burn, who was one of the outstanding figures of the Revival in that part of the world: and I lived for some weeks in his homely clergy-house during the following autumn. All Saints' was only one, though perhaps at that time the most vigorous, of several Catholic parishes in Middlesbrough. The pioneer church was S. John's, which had been taken to task in the local press so far back as 1865 for practising 'genfluxions and incest.'

Father Burn and his forty years' work in Middlesbrough have been well described in a biography,⁶ so that there is no need for me to write anything more here, beyond a mention of his name with affection and respect, and with the addition of one personal reminiscence. This was an occasion when a minor hubbub took place in the clergy-house one day, and Burn's sister-in-law, who looked after the household affairs for him—no light task—sallied forth in a hurry to buy a pair of boots. It transpired that a down-and-out had called, with the not infrequent request for foot-

⁶ T. G. Fullerton, *Father Burn of Middlesbrough*.

wear; whereupon Father Burn had taken off his own and given them to the mendicant, and had gone upstairs to his bedroom to put on another pair. There, however, it was found that his other pair had been similarly given away a week or two previously, and he had to sit upstairs in his bedroom slippers or socks—I forget which—until a new pair had been bought. This was the natural sort of atmosphere in the All Saints' of those days, and of many other clergy-houses then and now, at Middlesbrough and elsewhere. In the church next door one could see crowds at Mass on Sundays, men forming a large proportion of the congregation, which filled the spacious nave for the Low Mass at 7 and the High Mass at 9, with a fair number at both 6 and 8. It was my first introduction to the warm atmosphere of homely and enthusiastic catholic worship, with the vigorous and musical singing of Yorkshiremen. The sacred hour of 11 was devoted to the fulfilment of a promise made in early days, that so long as Burn was vicar of All Saints', so long would he continue to provide Morning Prayer and Sermon for those whose digestion could stand no stronger fare. By 1908 this faithful remnant had dwindled to one man and his family. For them the function was maintained, and the sermon preached. There was no music, but there was a collection after the sermon, and week by week a bag was carried forward which contained sixpence. Until one year when August 15th fell on a Sunday, and the sermon was on our Lady's Assumption; that day the bag contained 3d. Worse still was the Sunday when the sermon was omitted, and an empty bag solemnly presented.

Memories of All Saints' and their effects have not worn off after fifty years and more, and I devoutly trust they never will. Burn had had trouble with the archbishop (MacLagan) over the matter of Reservation, in which he stood firm; and in company with G. C. Omannay of S. Matthew's, Sheffield (for whom I had the privilege of preaching some twenty years later) was suffering the 'petty ostracism' which Father Embry mentions in the quotation on p. 31.⁷ This meant that the archbishop conceived it to be his pastoral duty towards his sheep in Middlesbrough and Sheffield to refuse to license assistant curates at those

⁷ See further, 'S. Matthew's, Sheffield,' in *The Green Quarterly*, vol. ii. (1925), pp. 176–81.

churches which were 'under the ban.' Burn had, however, the help of three priests at that time, all of them willing to run the risk of going on a sort of black list which (in the southern province at least) was supposed to be kept at Lambeth. In one case at least, however, no ill resulted, for Father Fullerton became later on vicar of S. Jude's, Bradford, and an honorary canon of the diocese.

Later on in the same year I spent some weeks at the Oxford House in Bethnal Green. The Head was away for the long vacation, and most of the staff also : meanwhile the House was being looked after by the Revd. H. R. L. Sheppard. He does not enter into the affairs of the Catholic Movement except in so far that later on he was associated very closely with the first moves of the 'Life and Liberty' campaign (see chap. vi below). But for myself it was something of an opportunity to see on Sunday mornings, when I had no set duty, most of the well-known churches of the East End. The one that stands out most vividly in my memory is S. Columba's, Kingsland Road, Haggerston. Father Le Couteur, the builder of the church, was still vicar at the time, though getting towards the end of his days. The church, like All Saints', Middlesbrough, was thronged with the very poor, with the same lusty singing but without the fine musical sonority of Yorkshire. The ceremonial was 'old-fashioned Sarum,' in contradistinction to all the other churches of the neighbourhood so far as I remember. Of more importance was the fact that at this time practically no church in that area was anything except mildly or definitely 'Anglo-Catholic.' The same was true of Middlesbrough, where in nine churches out of eleven the vestments were worn : and of Walworth, where I took my title at S. Peter's in 1912, and found the figures to be exactly the same. In those days the wearing of vestments always meant Catholic teaching about the Mass and the Confessional : in these days, the guarantee is not so sure.

These last few pages might well seem to have been overloaded with trifling matters, such as details of vesture and ceremonial. But the fact is that fifty years ago the advance of the Movement was very largely marked by skirmishes, and an occasional full-dress battle, fought over ceremonies and ornaments. This feature is due to the emphasis placed on relatively unimportant externals by Kensit and his squalid associates. Two underlying features of

much greater importance seem to have emerged from the affair of the Lambeth Opinions. In the first place, there is a more definite attempt to expound, to buttress, and to strut (in both senses of the word) the 'Anglican Position,' the 'Via Media,' the 'Bridge Church,' which are at their best never anything better than Qualified Catholic: and in the second place, there are the first indications of a policy which aims at isolating the pioneers or 'extreme' men from the rank and file of the 'loyal Anglo-Catholic' clergy. This policy is considered in our next chapter.

With respect to the former development, the Tractarians at their best had taken good care not to speak with over-weaning boldness; but by the turn of the century a more arrogant tone can be detected. The idea of the separate entity of a great National Church, which the scholarly influence of Bishop Creighton had caused to enter many minds, appeared to be creating an 'Anglican point of view' subversive of faith in 'the Holy Catholic Church,' and to give the suggestion of a claim to the possession of some special tenets, or of doctrines of the Catholic Church held in some modified form. The isolated position of the English Church with regard to the rest of Christendom was in a sense magnified rather than deplored.⁸

I have quoted twice from Embry, not that I should have expressed myself in exactly the same words, but because his book is evidently compiled from diaries written up at the time, and therefore carries the double advantage of contemporary observation and studied reflection thirty years after the events chronicled. And as to what the quotation says about Mandell Creighton, let the bishop speak to us with his own mouth :

'The function of the Church of England is to be the Church of free men. Its misfortune is that it does not succeed in rising above historical accidents, so as to realize its own great heritage. Its enemy is the Church of Rome: but it ought not to treat its foe with fear, but with kindly regard. The Church of Rome is the Church of decadent peoples: it lives only on its past, and has no future.' (John Bunyan had indulged in the same wishful thinking two centuries earlier.) 'Borrowing from it may be silly, but it is not dangerous, and will pass. The Church of England has before it the conquest of the world. We can only succeed if we

⁸ Embry, op. cit., p. 343.

gird up our loins with the assurance that the future is ours. The question of the future of the world is the existence of Anglo-Saxon civilization on a religious basis . . . I only wish you to know how seriously I view my responsibility and how large I feel it to be.'⁹

This unlovely piece of ecclesiastical jingoism is not altogether new, and could doubtless be paralleled by an historian with excerpts from divines of preceding centuries: but this spirit was particularly rampant at that time, partly as an aftermath of the Diamond Jubilee of 1897. The heady intoxication of that year may to some extent explain, but it does not excuse, archbishop Frederic Temple's vision of himself as a kind of Cecil Rhodes of the Establishment, when he makes the following astounding statement on p. 38 of his Primary Charge to the archdiocese of Canterbury in 1898: 'It has pleased God to break up the Church into fragments, and apparently to give a different mission to each part. . . . It seems clear that we have a special call to a special work. Our immediate work, no doubt, is to evangelize the world, for we have more opportunities of doing it than any other church or nation.' There was no Church Unity Octave in Frederic Temple's time, or he might have learned better than to speak of the divisions in the Church as being in accordance with God's pleasure. To read such statements as this, and Creighton's, tempts one to sigh for the good old days of the pre-Samuel Wilberforce bishops.¹⁰ But this Great Anglican notion has arrived, and has been formulated, and has to some extent infected some quarters among those who would like to call themselves 'Anglo-Catholics'; that is, Catholics but with a difference. And the difference is surely just this, that as Temple said, the Church of England's separation from the rest of Christendom, instead of being a disaster which ought to be rectified, is something which is in accord with the will of God, and an opportunity for national aggrandisement. There may be those who believe that the Anglicans are the Herrenvolk of the Church: among such may I never be found.

⁹ From a letter to Canon McCormick, August 6th, 1898: in Creighton, op. cit., ii, p. 302.

¹⁰ Sometimes spoken of as 'Greek-Play Bishops' because they were said to have been appointed with no further qualifications than that of having edited a Greek play.

PUTTING ON THE BRAKE

IT is unavoidable, human nature being what it is, that in every group of people which is moving along there must be a front as well as a centre, flanks as well as a rearguard, with sometimes a straggle of camp-followers. From its very first beginnings, the Catholic Movement in the English Church has proved to be no exception to this rule, and the phenomenon of a progressive front line hampered by a ponderous centre is a perfectly normal, if sometimes a trying, state of things. Dr. Pusey is often quoted as having been one who disliked and distrusted the practices of the early 'ritualists': but 'Dr. Pusey changed his mind.'¹ And yet we are hardly ever told that he lost this dislike and distrust as the years went by. We must, of course, be ready to concede that any sort of misrepresentation of Pusey's attitude by controversialists is not deliberate, but no more than an unenlightened repetition of some debating point which was scored many long years ago.

We have already mentioned this difference between the front and the centre, when speaking about the acquiescence, or non-acquiescence, of parish priests after the publication of the Lambeth Opinions of 1899: and we shall meet it again later on in chap. vii, with the Anglo-Catholic Congress movement, with the 'XXI' in 1929, and on other occasions. But as this book is not strictly chronological in order, we can go on at once to consider some other points about what might be called 'Brakemanship.'

It is by no means accurate to use the word 'divergence' when speaking of the differences which may be observed between the main body and its advanced members, for in the Catholic Movement all are moving in the same direction and towards the same

¹ C. P. S. Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and after* (1932), p. 219. For Pusey, see for example his letter to *The Times* of January 14th, 1881, from which some pertinent extracts are given in H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouvier Pusey* (1897), vol. iv, p. 363. For a similar change of heart on the part of Keble, see W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *The History of the Catholic Revival from 1845* (1932), p. 57.

ultimate object, that of bringing all men to that knowledge of Christ which can only be surely achieved in the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church which is His Body. But this one objective could be further defined as lying in four sectors²:

(i) The evangelization of the heathen, both at home and abroad.

(ii) The reabsorption into the One Body of those members who in the past have gone out from it into the dissenting or non-conforming congregations.

(iii) The purification of the Provinces of Canterbury and York and those in communion with them from all the corruptions of foreign protestantism which entered in during the sixteenth century and afterwards.

(iv) The healing of the breach with Rome.

Now differing opportunities or inclinations or abilities will in nearly all cases lead an individual to direct his energies chiefly to one, or two, of these four sectors, and in lesser degree to the remainder. And in looking towards their final completion, it is reasonably certain that the order in time will have to be (iii), (ii), (iv), (i): but the advance must be going on in all four sectors simultaneously. Meanwhile all four are matters which are to some extent universal in their obligation, and they cannot be said to diverge as to direction. Any variation is to be found rather in the degree to which one of the four is emphasized and the rest partially (not wholly) ignored: and all four are harmoniously comprehended in the one sentence 'Thy kingdom come, in earth as it is in heaven.'

Anything like a cleavage between the central body of the Movement and its front line would naturally be a matter for regret, if not for anxiety. However, in the majority of cases it has no real existence in fact when viewed in the perpendicular line of history instead of in the horizontal line of present occurrences. Opponents of the Movement have naturally been quick to suggest such a cleavage, for if they could only prove their point it would be a valuable tool in their hands: and the 'tart or tremu-

² Professor N. P. Williams, speaking at the Oxford Movement Centenary Congress of 1933 (*Report*, p. 101) also lays down four 'subordinate or departmental ends'—(iii), (iv), (i) as above, though in different words. Omitting (ii), he adds a fourth as 'the establishment of a Christian civilization in material matters.'

lous'³ letters in the correspondence columns of the *Church Times*, more especially during the last thirty years or so, offer them much valuable evidence on which to base their suggestions. But on close analysis the case is not as it appears. The centre is not out of touch with the front line, and it is moving in the same direction ; but it has not yet (*ex hypothesi*) moved on so far at the moment. When an outcry is raised against the 'extreme' or 'advanced' exponent of some point in the revival—whether it be vestments in the 1860s, or incense in the 1890s, or reservation in the 1920s, or the canon of the Mass in the 1950s, it merely means that the protester has not yet reached the same stage in the movement as the 'advanced' man. Those who dropped (for a time) incense in conformity with the Lambeth Opinions in 1899 all wore the vestments at Mass : those who declined to stand out with the XXI in 1928⁴ all swung censers : those who were ready in the post-war years to abandon the Gelasian Canon, 'our inalienable heritage'⁵ for a mess of pottage such as the 'interim' or some other type of service all had their tabernacles, or at least their aumbries. And so it goes on, and so it will go on, until the term of the Movement is reached : and that is not yet, though it is in sight, and has always been in sight since the Tractarians—and their predecessors—first beheld the 'land that is very far off.'

A typical example of the regrettable attitude which seeks to make capital out of any such apparent divergence between centre and front is this letter, and still more the fact of the selection of this letter for reprinting, from Canon Body of Durham to Bishop Davidson at Winchester.⁶ The pompous complacency of this epistle, which appears to have been entirely uninvited, has to be illustrated to be believed. It was written on December 14th, 1895, five days after Father Dolling had resigned from S. Agatha's, Landport :

'May I offer one line of sympathy to you in your troubles with Dolling and of most sincere gratitude to you for your action in this matter? . . . As one whose loyalty to Anglo-Catholicism has been proved and tested, I thank you for your letters and action

³ This phrase is borrowed with thanks from the *Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Priests' Convention* (1921), p. x.

⁴ See chap. ix below.

⁵ S. R. P. Mouldsdale in *Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Priests' Convention* (1921), p. 69.

⁶ Bell, op. cit., vol. i, p. 279.

in this matter. . . . Yet for his' (the sense is slightly obscure : by the strict grammatical construction, 'his' ought to refer to the Lord of the Temple who has been named in the preceding sentence) 'sake and for that of the *English Church* the reintroduction of the Romish Doctrine of Purgatory and of its system of Masses for the Dead must be resisted. And even more his uncatholic spirit of disobedience must be contended with. To tolerate this *Doctrine*, spirit and system is too great a price to pay even for his strength and zeal.'

It is devoutly to be hoped that Body, like Keble and Pusey, changed his mind in later years.

Davidson must have received shoals of letters during and after this episode : and that Bishop Bell should have selected this one is itself a fine piece of Brakemanship, and a notable example of what has just been said about the avidity with which anything that savours of disruption within the Movement has been seized upon by those of other parties. For though we have no means of proving the point without working through the materials made accessible to Bell, it is highly probable that the letters which criticized or denounced the action of the bishop of Winchester were far more ready to blame than to praise. Some of these letters may indeed have perished from deliberate incineration or almost from internal combustion, but at least the archbishop's biography, in most respects a model of what a biography should be, might have given us a sample.

The Dolling episode took place when I was only six years old, so that I have no first hand recollection of it, though later on I met several men who had known him more or less intimately. It has been abundantly and well written up⁷ and there is no need to say more here except for one point ; for it ought to be placed on record that the usual summing-up in the 'Anglo-Catholic' literature is far from just or accurate when it described Dolling as having been driven out of Landport by Randall Davidson—though of course Davidson was probably most delighted to see the last of him. It is a very serious *suppressio veri* on the part of those who (if they did it knowingly) have omitted to inform us that in October 1895 Dolling told the bishop that he intended in

⁷ C. E. Osborne, *The Life of Father Dolling* (1903) is the most complete of these sources.

any case to resign before the following Easter,⁸ and that he actually did so on December 9th. Davidson's action therefore did no more than advance the date by some four months. Davidson did as much as he could to check the Catholic Movement (it was not much) : but at least let us not malign him for things which he did not do.

By the time I had taken my degree at Oxford in 1911 I had already begun to sense something of this attempt to put on the brake and to discriminate between the 'extreme men' and the 'sound churchmen.' The leader of the latter in those days at Oxford was, I suppose, Stuckey Coles, who was at that time the Principal of Pusey House. I did not meet him more than once personally, so far as I remember; he was fatherly but a trifle pontifical in manner. He shared with several others of his generation an inexplicable veneration for the *ipsissima verba* of the 1662 Prayer Book, comparable only to the bibliolatry of fundamentalist protestants, and carried on as late as 1939 by his neighbour (after his retirement) in Somerset, John Briscoe of Bagborough. At the other end of the Broad, at the old S. Stephen's House in Parks Road, could be found G. H. Bown, one of the finest types of priesthood which it has been my good fortune to know. In his chapel were the only facilities available in the Oxford of those days for priests to say Mass if they had not a parochial or collegiate service at which to officiate (I am sorry to express it in such a long-winded way, but we have recently been advised by high authority that 'private Mass' is an improper term : which is of course perfectly true). There were two who took advantage of this privilege: one was the Revd. (later Professor) N. P. Williams, and a couple of years later there was the Revd. (later Monsignor) R. A. Knox, at that time Chaplain of Trinity College. And, like Bown, they dared to leave out the Ten Commandments, though I am not aware that they did anything further in the way of abandoning the rite of 1662. At any rate this, and other like offences, was too much for the Board which controlled S. Stephen's House, and Bown was forced to resign. On this Board were Dr. Lock, the Warden of Keble, and Stuckey Coles; and rumour had it that Coles was the prime

⁸ See Bell, op. cit., vol. i, p. 267.

mover in the matter.⁹ But before Bown's resignation could take effect, two things happened: first, he was elected bishop of Nassau; and second, he was suddenly called to his rest. It was said that Davidson had intended to interpose his veto on the consecration.

There was no daily Mass in any of the Oxford college chapels at the time I went up, in 1908, nor were the vestments in use in any of them. At Keble, Lock maintained a type of service which was alleged to be strictly legal according to the pronouncements after the 'trial' of bishop King. Black stoles and academic hoods were the correct wear at the altar in his day. In 1911 a few undergraduates, among whom I have the satisfaction of being able to include myself, approached the Senior Common Room via the devious route of the good offices of the Revd. A. E. J. Rawlinson (later bishop of Derby) with the request for a daily Mass, at least in Lent. The request was granted, provisionally, and though it meant being in chapel three-quarters of an hour before the usual hour, the attendance was so good that in the Trinity term following it was made a permanent fixture. And (if my memory does not play me false) the academic hood could be discarded for this service *ad libitum sacerdotis*.

Besides Pusey House, the Catholics at Oxford in my undergraduate days used to frequent either the Cowley Fathers' church or S. Barnabas', according to their æsthetic choice. Cowley was at that time 'old-fashioned Sarum,' a type to be explained in the next chapter, while S. Barnabas' was baroque as to its furnishings and still more as to its music, which was of the Gounod type. The singing at Cowley in those days was as good as anything I have heard since. A choir-school, with a small band of volunteer choir-men trained by Cedric Bucknall, sang the service, all in plain-song except for some hymns; and *Salve festa dies*, the verses done by five boys in the rood-loft, was quite unearthly in its beauty. The back view of Father Benson, then in extreme old age, could be seen in the return stalls.

For those who preferred a more typically parochial kind of sung Mass, there was the choice of S. Paul's, then served by Dr. B. J.

⁹ For evidence of the justice of including Stuckey Coles among the Brake-men, see his remarks at the Anglo-Catholic Priests' Convention in 1921 (*Report*, pp. 86-7).

Kidd, who succeeded Lock later on as Warden of Keble; or S. Philip and S. James', with a flavour of a residential suburb or perhaps of Eastbourne¹⁰; or S. Thomas', with the unique Father Hack, better known later on as vicar of S. Mary Magdalene. But Hack's church was a smallish one, and in those days it was filled with his own parishioners, so that he metaphorically and literally frowned on undergraduates who dropped in to taste. In all these churches the full 1662 rite was performed fifty years ago, commandments and all, and those accustomed to, or desiring to sample, the 'Western Rite' made their way up the hill to the old parish church of Headington. Here a rather eccentric Father Townshend had produced a fair imitation of a French or Italian village service, for which, needless to say, he got into hot water. I have not been able to come across details of his troubles with the authorities—doubtless they were much the same as some of the other cases I have mentioned—so that I do not know what is the answer to Davidson's plaintive question to bishop Paget of Oxford in February 1904 'will the facts about Headington help us?' ¹¹

Returning to these matters of Extremity and Brakemanship, there is another point to be borne in mind, namely the difference in temperament between one priest and another, between the conservative type and the progressive; together with the factors of environment and local tradition. And there is the wide difference between the 'whole-hogger' who believes in the importance of 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,' ¹² who is a genuine pioneer in the very front of the line or even well out beyond it while keeping contact with the main body, and the mere eccentric who is straying out on the flanks. Examples of this latter type have always been and always will be found, as in the Catholic Movement so also in every other movement of whatever kind where there is enough vitality to capture the allegiance (rather than the mere adherence) of a man with an original mind and an imagination backed by courage. He will not run true to type because he does not belong to a type. Sometimes he does harm to his cause: more often he does it great service, but on his

¹⁰ At the transept door a special ramp was provided, up which bath-chairs might be wheeled into the church.

¹¹ Bell, op. cit., vol. i, p. 455.

¹² Eccles. 9: 10.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SARUM EMPIRE

AS has been said in the foregoing chapter, from the very earliest days of the Catholic Movement its opponents have welcomed any sort of variation among its members on which they could congratulate themselves, and could present to others, as being signs of a rift within the lute. Some little opportunity for this exultation was offered to them for many years by the spectacle of the differences to be noted between 'Sarum' and 'Roman' parishes.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century there had grown up a certain distinction between the two types. Since 1844, when William Maskell published his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, following it two years later by the *Monumenta Ritualia*, attempts had been made in many places to order the architecture and ornaments and ceremonial on this Old English or Sarum pattern.¹ Numerous other books were produced, some amateurish, some romantic, some scholarly. Of the last, the most valuable was John David Chambers, Recorder of Salisbury, *Divine Worship in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries* (1877), containing 496 quarto pages packed with information and illustrations. The Cambridge Camden Society, and the work of the famous architect Augustus Welby Pugin, were also strong influences which swung in a direction which was Gothic rather than Baroque.

Meanwhile in other places, including some of the most flourishing churches in London and other great towns, the pattern was formed rather on what might have been observed abroad, in Belgium or in France or wherever the priest happened to find himself on his annual holiday. This made for warmth and life in devotion, and steered clear of the dangers of insularity: but it naturally involved some degree of amateurishness and some false

¹ S. Paul's, Lorrimore Square, Walworth, seems to have been the pioneer in this direction.

Kidd, who succeeded Lock later on as Warden of Keble; or S. Philip and S. James', with a flavour of a residential suburb or perhaps of Eastbourne¹⁰; or S. Thomas', with the unique Father Hack, better known later on as vicar of S. Mary Magdalene. But Hack's church was a smallish one, and in those days it was filled with his own parishioners, so that he metaphorically and literally frowned on undergraduates who dropped in to taste. In all these churches the full 1662 rite was performed fifty years ago, commandments and all, and those accustomed to, or desiring to sample, the 'Western Rite' made their way up the hill to the old parish church of Headington. Here a rather eccentric Father Townshend had produced a fair imitation of a French or Italian village service, for which, needless to say, he got into hot water. I have not been able to come across details of his troubles with the authorities—doubtless they were much the same as some of the other cases I have mentioned—so that I do not know what is the answer to Davidson's plaintive question to bishop Paget of Oxford in February 1904 'will the facts about Headington help us?' ¹¹

Returning to these matters of Extremity and Brakemanship, there is another point to be borne in mind, namely the difference in temperament between one priest and another, between the conservative type and the progressive; together with the factors of environment and local tradition. And there is the wide difference between the 'whole-hogger' who believes in the importance of 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,' ¹² who is a genuine pioneer in the very front of the line or even well out beyond it while keeping contact with the main body, and the mere eccentric who is straying out on the flanks. Examples of this latter type have always been and always will be found, as in the Catholic Movement so also in every other movement of whatever kind where there is enough vitality to capture the allegiance (rather than the mere adherence) of a man with an original mind and an imagination backed by courage. He will not run true to type because he does not belong to a type. Sometimes he does harm to his cause: more often he does it great service, but on his

¹⁰ At the transept door a special ramp was provided, up which bath-chairs might be wheeled into the church.

¹¹ Bell, op. cit., vol. i, p. 455.

¹² Eccles. 9: 10.

own lines and at his own cost. Such a one was Hawker of Morwenstow¹³; perhaps also, though to a far less degree, Sandys Wason of Cury; while Father Ignatius of Llanthony did at least break some hard ground for the revival of monasticism, drawing down upon his devoted head many of the preliminary brickbats, and thereby saving both Caldey and Nashdom some inconvenience. And occasionally an individual has made the mistake of moving too far ahead of the front line, and so losing contact altogether. This is almost certainly true of E. E. Kilburn of S. Saviour's, Hoxton, who not only abandoned the use of the English Book of Common Prayer more than forty years ago, but also replaced the vulgar tongue by Latin at Mass and vespers.¹⁴

Again, there is the legalist and his opposite, for whom no exact word seems to suggest itself by way of a label (and we must all wear labels these days); 'antinomian' is certainly wrong. The legalists have always got themselves involved in sad tangles at times. Long, long ago, the bishop of Lincoln, Christopher Wordsworth, had to point out in the Upper House of Convocation that the Coronation service was illegal.¹⁵ And fifty years ago and more there were many most worthy priests who combined a scrupulous respect for authority with an almost entire lack of understanding as to the nature of that authority, their minds often confused by that Anglican self-sufficiency propaganda of which I have written above. Nor is the breed extinct. I could not hope to express the point in my own words as well as has been done by Wilfred Knox, who wrote as follows:

'The division persists to this day within the Catholic movement; there are still those who oppose any deviation from the letter of Anglican formularies. But in the main the past twenty years' (i.e. from 1903) 'have witnessed the decisive victory of those who see that the task of converting the English people to the Catholic religion cannot be accomplished without a complete revision of the English Liturgy in a Catholic sense, and the

¹³ See *Dictionary of National Biography*. The best Life is that by Baring-Gould.

¹⁴ For an account of this incident, very sympathetic considering the official position of the author, see S. C. Carpenter, *Winnington-Ingram* (1949), pp. 170-5.

¹⁵ *Chronicle of Convocation*, 1877, p. 7.

general introduction of the full system of Catholic devotion, as it had been developed by Western Catholicism since the Reformation. In the technical sense the process has not merely been accomplished without authority, but actually in defiance of authority, since the bishops have for the most part resisted every step in this stage of the revival as they resisted every earlier step in the past. On the other hand, in a wider sense they have been acting in obedience to authority; for it has been seen that the function of authority is to formulate what is implied in the religious consciousness of Christians.¹⁶

¹⁶ W. L. Knox, *The Catholic Movement in the Church of England* (1923), p. 234.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SARUM EMPIRE

AS has been said in the foregoing chapter, from the very earliest days of the Catholic Movement its opponents have welcomed any sort of variation among its members on which they could congratulate themselves, and could present to others, as being signs of a rift within the lute. Some little opportunity for this exultation was offered to them for many years by the spectacle of the differences to be noted between 'Sarum' and 'Roman' parishes.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century there had grown up a certain distinction between the two types. Since 1844, when William Maskell published his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, following it two years later by the *Monumenta Ritualia*, attempts had been made in many places to order the architecture and ornaments and ceremonial on this Old English or Sarum pattern.¹ Numerous other books were produced, some amateurish, some romantic, some scholarly. Of the last, the most valuable was John David Chambers, Recorder of Salisbury, *Divine Worship in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries* (1877), containing 496 quarto pages packed with information and illustrations. The Cambridge Camden Society, and the work of the famous architect Augustus Welby Pugin, were also strong influences which swung in a direction which was Gothic rather than Baroque.

Meanwhile in other places, including some of the most flourishing churches in London and other great towns, the pattern was formed rather on what might have been observed abroad, in Belgium or in France or wherever the priest happened to find himself on his annual holiday. This made for warmth and life in devotion, and steered clear of the dangers of insularity: but it naturally involved some degree of amateurishness and some false

¹ S. Paul's, Lorrimore Square, Walworth, seems to have been the pioneer in this direction.



IV. THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WESTMINSTER WITH VISITING PRELATES, 1887

ST JOHN'S CHURCH
CHICHESTER, 1960

*As it was in the
beginning*



CHURCH OF THE HOLY
REDEEMER,
CLERKENWELL, 1960
*is now, and ever
shall be*



steps, for Belgium and France were not in those days famous for their scrupulous observance of the rubrics.

On the whole, up to the end of the nineteenth century, the variations between the two types were not very considerable. In the Sarum type of church, the servers were dressed in albs and amices (a custom found also in northern France) and the order of processions was different, for the sacred ministers and their attendants walked ahead of the choir, instead of following them with servers in surplice or cotta, as did their colleagues of the Western rite. And the order or 'sequence' of colours for seasons and festivals varied also. It was not then realized that the actual use of medieval England was to use up old and shabby vestments ('feble' was their term) of white or red for Lent and Passiontide if the church did not possess purple or violet or blue. In most of these churches the 1662 order of service was regarded as susceptible of improvement, and in those places Roman sources were drawn upon quite as often as those of medieval Salisbury. Otherwise there was little or no distinction between the two types: and in matters of real importance, none at all. The same faith was preached and practised: in both Sarum and Roman churches the faithful were diligently taught to love, and to receive, the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Sacrament, to worship His Real Presence therein, to make regular use of the Sacrament of Penance, to strive after sanctification.

In this period the English Use, as it was generally called, was on the up-grade. It never actually reached to the peak of an 'Empire,' as the title of this chapter suggests; but there was something imperial if not yet (until the present century) imperious. The idea of a National Use appealed strongly to the national spirit, so pronounced in the period between the Diamond Jubilee and the disillusionment which followed the South African war. John Bull was all for it; and along with him went several of the most learned, and most widely trusted, of the leading spirits of the Catholic Movement in that generation. The list of the Committee of the *English Hymnal*, first produced in 1906, is a typical sample of the weight which was on the Sarum side in those days, although it represents only those who were gifted as poets or musicians. From the eight names (still printed as an appendix to the preface of the second edition of 1933) can be picked out at

once those of T. A. Lacey, A. Hanbury-Tracy, W. J. Birkbeck and Athelstan Riley, who were all prominent churchmen of the time. The last name of those eight is that of Percy Dearmer, about whom more must be said, because it is round his name that the Sarum or English movement centred for a decade or more, and because it is with his career that the Sarum or English movement mounted to its greatest heights, and then fell away.

The new development begins with the new century. It can be dated very closely from April 1899, in which month was published *The Parson's Handbook*, written by Dearmer, who was at that time vicar of S. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, in north-west London. Well written, well printed and well illustrated (save for an unfortunate plate in earlier editions depicting a correctly-attired Sarum prelate standing before a Holy Table decorated with vases of flowers—discarded from later editions) this book has had a great and immediate and a not ill-deserved success; due partly to the fact that it has filled a gap. Not without scholarship, it combines precisely that degree of practical efficiency and common sense, coupled with an authoritative tone, which had been so conspicuously lacking in most of the nineteenth century manuals, whether 'Sarum' or 'Roman.' The extent of its success can be indicated by the fact that in 1909, only ten years after its first appearance, it had already reached the second impression of its third edition (inaccurately describing itself on its title-page as 'seventh edition'), and that it is still in print after enjoying more than sixty years of life.

In three different ways did the new book strike definite notes, and appeal for a season to three different types of mind which, added together, would represent something like a majority of churchmen, particularly among the country clergy with their Gothic churches. It was (i) strongly legalistic, (ii) strongly nationalistic and (iii) strongly antiquarian, the last item being softened and yet strengthened with a sound artistic approach. It was altogether a 'strong' book, and for that very reason was acceptable and refreshing after the hum-and-haw of the pietistic or amateurish or tentatively-exploring-avenue flavour of so much that had gone before.

(i) We have seen more than enough of legalism in preceding chapters, and though Rubrical or Canonical prescriptions are in

every way preferable to those of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or those of Lord Penzance's Court, they remain legalistic in their very nature. It was not long before a reaction began to set in. An early and very useful *caveat* was delivered by T. A. Lacey at the Manchester Church Congress of 1908, from which I quote :

'A certain amount of study of this question has brought me to a particular conclusion about rubrics : that it is the greatest possible mistake to treat a rubric as if it were a law. I am only stating conclusions. A rubric is a marginal note in a liturgical book ; and that marginal note is a reference to a law, written or customary. The rubric is a mere reference to jog the memory of the officiant in order that he may be reminded of a law of worship with which he is presumably acquainted. That, I think, can be proved up to the hilt both historically and liturgically. . . . A rubric ought not to be regarded as a law. It is only a reference to a law.'²

The Parson's Handbook eventually lost the great hold it had gained upon the English clergy precisely because it failed to discern this essential distinction between a rubric and a law. It is impossible to succeed, in the long run, if we pick out this or that rubric from the Schedule Annexed to the 1662 Act of Uniformity and try to give it the force of law, while condoning the non-observance of others which are obsolete and in some cases never have been observed from the day when the Act received the Royal Assent.

(ii) As for Nationalism, the *Handbook*, and still more so the noisier of its advocates, would seem to have been unaware that the liturgical and ceremonial customs of England in the first half of the sixteenth century (i.e. before the centralizing pronouncements of the Council of Trent) did not differ very much from those then current in Italy, Spain and France ; from which last country, indeed, most of them came, and where they survived to a surprising extent into the eighteenth century.³ In many points of detail the old-fashioned Sarum churches were required to revise their customs. For example, some of them followed the

² *Report of the Manchester Church Congress*, p. 84.

³ Many further interesting details of these survivals are to be found in De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques de France* (Paris, 1718) : also in E. J. G. Forse, *Ceremonial Curiosities* (1938).

normal custom of Western Europe in having six candlesticks on or above the high altar; but henceforward they must have two only, and these must be set upon the Holy Table itself, although others might be perched upon the brackets holding up the curtains (riddels to you). Two candles on the Holy Table can, I understand, still be seen at Lyons and elsewhere in Roman Catholic countries, or even none at all outside the time of Mass, but this parallel is of course not emphasized in the very English and nationalistic *Parson's Handbook*.

(iii) As to the antiquarian flavour of many of the book's recommendations, opinions varied from the moment of its publication, for *de gustibus non est disputandum*. But the final verdict has been adverse, on the grounds that the Catholic Revival is not concerned to replace religion and its outward observance exactly as they were in the reign of Henry VIII, or the second year of Edward VI, or even that of Mary; but to restore things as nearly as possible to the condition in which they would have been had Henry not severed relations with the Holy See and thereby with the other countries in communion with it. In other words, for the English Catholic insularity is not a virtue but a positive danger; because an insular position in ceremonial is not so very far from an insular position in doctrine, a position which is explicitly repudiated not only by the earliest leaders of the Catholic Movement but also by Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, late of Canterbury: 'We have no doctrine of our own—we only possess the Catholic doctrine of the Catholic Church enshrined in the Catholic creeds, and those creeds we hold without addition or diminution. We stand firm on that rock.'⁴ Before long the principles of *The Parson's Handbook* came to be spoken of in many circles as 'British Museum religion': for its insularity in place was coupled with an insularity in time, which was seeking to stereotype all material details by the patterns of the sixteenth century or earlier.

But there can be little doubt that this book did a great deal of good in getting away from the amateurishness and 'private judgment' of previous years. Eclectic and absurd individualism was rife in the land over ceremonial points, usually due to sheer

⁴ In a speech delivered at the Central Hall, Westminster, on January 30th, 1951: text kindly supplied by the Editor of the *Church Times*.

ignorance as much as to self-will. The ignorance was excusable partly by the lack of satisfactory books of instruction, and partly by the fact that very few of the parochial clergy had had any special education in such matters. It was not until some ten or twelve years after the appearance of *The Parson's Handbook* that a course at some recognized theological college was made obligatory on all candidates for Holy Orders, and even to-day there are colleges where little or no instruction is given as to the right way of carrying out the priest's most specific duty, that of offering the Holy Sacrifice. I saw myself in a Somerset church, so late as 1934, a High Church clergyman (as he would doubtless describe himself) enter from the sacristy carrying the chalice and paten on the top of his head—not resting on his scalp, but just above it. Readers who are my contemporaries must often have seen similar absurdities. In my youth certain churches were known to be places where you might expect to find 'fancy ritual'; that is, ceremonial devised by the incumbent or his predecessors as 'teaching' or 'seemly,' or (a favourite word) 'simple'—which was really nothing of the sort, but something which had to be learnt afresh by every strange officiant in that church, and every visiting worshipper who wanted to know what was going on. With the advent of *The Parson's Handbook* the more outrageous abnormalities began to fade away, and in so far as that book has helped their unlamented departure we may give it well-deserved thanks.

Antiquarianism, unless pushed too far, is neither good nor bad as a factor in religious ceremonial; and legalism is always bad. But far more dangerous is nationalism when it turns into insularity. For insularity needs only the very slightest touch, and it is over the border into a negative protestantism. Such was the danger of the Sarum revival, and it was by failing to avoid the pitfall that it eventually destroyed itself as a legitimate feature of the Catholic Movement. There have always been many sheep-like people sheltering within the Anglican fold and filled with terror and hatred of the great big Roman wolf. To such the arguments of the Dearmer school made (and make) great appeal; in them they recognized weapons with which to assail the wicked papalists and romanizers within; with *The Parson's Handbook* in their hands they uttered once more the war cry of bishop

Creighton⁵ : 'The enemy of the Church of England is the Church of Rome, the Church of decadent peoples.' Nationalism was once more running mad; and the 'High-Church-but-not-extreme' clergy dressed itself in Gothic vestments while the bishops of the same way of thinking (or not even that) took to parading in copes and mitres, that latter often of queer shapes like inverted sponge-bags. It was all very decorative, and all very popular, and it was all about on a par with the harvest festivals and anthems of fifty years earlier; but it meant nothing whatever, and it had the effect of discrediting the well-meant efforts of the older, more devout, more orthodox, and more scholarly Sarum enthusiasts. It still finds (at the moment of writing) comfort and support in the columns of the *Church Times*.

Another side-effect of *The Parson's Handbook* was that it was bought by deans and cathedral sacrists, for whom it was not written. Now few changes in the outward appearance of things in the English Church over the last sixty years are more phenomenal, and more unexpected, than those in the furnishing of the cathedrals and in their worship. To one who remembers the dismal sights to be seen, for example, in the naves of Gloucester or St. Albans in the first decade of this century, or the incredible length and dullness of the services in Westminster Abbey which he was compelled to attend when at school, it is refreshing to enter the Minster at York or Ely, or Exeter Cathedral and many another great church. With the 'no Roman Catholic, all genuine English' defence mechanism ready to hand, our English cathedrals have been quite steadily transformed from damp dingy museums into churches recognizable as Catholic places of worship. Unfortunately, to some of them the slightly altered phrase 'place of Catholic worship' is not so strictly appropriate. External may be there, but little more: numerous side-altars, some of them very seldom used, some never, but most of them quite correct with 'riddels' bearing candles on the tops of the posts: and you may see cross-bearers in processions dressed (unlike the sacred ministers) in some of the eucharistic vestments and carrying an illegal ornament in the form of a crucifix with the Figure absent (a thing certainly not as it was in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI) and even escorted by taperers in open defiance of the Lambeth Opinions. But does all

⁵ See p. 35.

this panoply mean anything? In some cathedrals, yes: in others, no. And suspecting that to some extent the Sarum revival has been taken over by the moderate-High-Church party, many, probably a majority of Catholics, have preferred to leave it alone, or even to oppose it firmly.

Perhaps the fruition of *The Parson's Handbook* period can be seen at its highest level as described in the very fine and detailed account by Jocelyn Perkins of the development of post-reformation worship in Westminster Abbey.⁶ From this work we reproduce by permission a photograph of the dignitaries who officiated at the Thanksgiving Service for Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887. Some notable figures are to be discerned therein, and readers will be interested to identify them. Reading from left to right we have Canon T. J. Rowsell, Archdeacon F. W. Farrar, Canon George Prothero (subdean), Archbishop Thomson of York, Dr. John Troutbeck (minor canon), Archbishop Benson of Canterbury, H. Aldrich Cotton (minor canon), Dean Bradley, J. H. Cheadle (minor canon), Bishop Frederick Temple of London, S. Flood Jones (precentor), Canon Duckworth, the mace bearer, Canon C. W. Furse, Edwin Price (sacrist), and Canon B. F. Westcott. As pointed out by Perkins, the unbridled display of *cappati* at this early date, wherein the two archbishops were implicated, makes the event something like a milestone in the progressive revival of external dignity of worship. The picture is also notable in that it displays eight of the eleven Caroline copes preserved at the Abbey, together with Dean Sprat's blue cloth-of-gold cope (worn by Bradley) which is only fifty years later than the Restoration. The subdean and Dr. Duckworth are in the red velvet, the archbishops in dark purple, and the outer four canons in cloth-of-gold. Fourteen years later I was privileged as a Town-boy of Westminster School to attend Dean Bradley's funeral: Duckworth and Cheadle were still officiating at the time, and went on for some years longer. Farrar was, of course, the author of *Eric, or Little by Little*, and of much else: while Flood Jones and Troutbeck were responsible for the Chants to the Cathedral Psalter. Benson, Temple and Westcott need no further comment; except perhaps for Temple's costume. Whereas the five minor canons are wearing the recognizable choir dress, that of my Lord of London is not so easy to interpret.

⁶ *Westminster Abbey: its Worship and Ornaments* (Alcuin Club, 1938, 39, 52).

In this hirsute throng I recognize not only the familiar figures of Duckworth and Cheadle, but also the copes, particularly the four in cloth-of-gold. It was in 1920 that Jocelyn Perkins called at the infant Faith Craft-Studio in Buckingham Street to consult me about these. He complained that they were very awkward and uncomfortable to wear, and that experts whom he had consulted had failed to make any suggestions short of cutting the material, which could in no case be permitted. I was able to notice at once where the difficulty lay. The Morse, or clasp across the breast, had been made (as will be seen in the picture) longer and lying much lower than is customary either for medieval times or for our own; and the reason for this could have been nothing less than the wigs worn by all gentlemen of the period. So I offered Perkins his choice of either a complete set of periwigs for the Chapter (at which he was rightly indignant) or to move the morses several inches higher up. This alternative was agreed upon, and the work was done to his satisfaction; so much so that shortly afterwards he entrusted us with the restoration of an old mutilated frontal, now used in S. Faith's Chapel.⁷ Our sempstress, in the course of this adaptation, sent a message to ask for some really good quality black cloth for remounting the embroidery, such a thing being hard to procure in 1920, when the war shortages had not yet been overtaken. I offered her a discarded pair of my dress trousers, which was accepted as 'the very thing for the purpose.' Wherefore they, or fragments thereof, may be seen at certain seasons in their exalted situation up to this very day.

Contributing to the failure of the 'Sarum Empire' to capture the Catholic Movement was the career of its great prophet, Percy Dearmer. A man of remarkable ability and immense and restless energy, before long he was transferring his attention to some other cause, to Christian Socialism, to Faith Healing, to the Ministry of Women in Churches. In 1928 he attacked the rules of Fasting Communion (thirty years too soon), and was soundly trounced by G. H. Tremenheere, Dolling's successor at Landport, in the *English Church Union Gazette*; and finally he fell under suspicion of a vague sort of mild Unitarianism. This was naturally a disaster for his many adherents over ceremonial controversies,

⁷ Ibid., vol. iii, pp. 69-70, and plate facing p. 31: also vol. i, p. 80.

and the leadership passed to his successor at Primrose Hill, A.S. Duncan-Jones, a man of a different and a more solid calibre, who was made Dean of Chichester in 1929 and published in 1948 the *Chichester Customary*. If we are not unfair in attributing to his school of thought some hopes of establishing a kind of Anglican Congregation of Sacred Rites, it is a sad commentary on their failure to hear that even during the compiler's lifetime the *Customary* had become partly obsolete at Chichester, and is now very largely discarded. The reputation of Duncan-Jones will last longest not as a ceremonial expert but as a stout upholder of the rights of the Lower House of Convocation.

To-day the Sarum movement is not quite dead. Its influence in the Catholic Revival continues to decline, and it is still found in some places, mostly out of London. But it has come to be associated rather with the small 'Central,' 'Moderate' or 'Official' party which carries on a precarious existence squeezed between the vigorous Catholic wing on the one hand and the tough Low Churchmen on the other. The leading London centres of the 'English Use' changed over into 'Western' manners one by one : S. Matthew's, Westminster; S. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square; S. Cyprian's, Clarence Gate; S. John's, Red Lion Square; S. Columba's, Haggerston; The Ascension, Lavender Hill; S. Agnes', Kennington : these are some prominent examples.

Now the opinions advanced in these pages may seem to have been founded almost exclusively upon London, and to have neglected the wide Midlands, the West Country and the energetic North. This has not been intentional, but it has been largely unavoidable, for I spent nearly all my life in London until 1922. And as the personal note has crept in, I would like at this point to disclaim most earnestly any wish to hurt the feelings of many good friends to whom the 'English Use' is or was dear, or to cast any slur on the memory of good and holy priests and laymen now gone to their reward, who in their days followed after righteousness according to these same external customs. I am concerned rather to sum up as best I can those tendencies and developments which (by my fallible observation) I have seen and known, and to estimate what has actually happened in the relations between the 'Sarum' and 'Roman' schools of thought ('parties' is too strong a word here) during my lifetime.

The turn of the tide may be dated, so far as it is possible to

peg any dates in a gradual swing of opinion, at 1910, with the foundation of 'The Society of S. Peter and S. Paul': and the publication of Adrian Fortescue's *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite described* in 1918 gave some further encouragement to those who desired authoritative instruction in the right way of attending to practical details, and were not afraid of the Roman bogey.⁸

Strictly speaking, the Sarum Rite has never been restored. For one reason it was in Latin, not in English: for another, the 'neo-Sarum' or 'Primrose Hill' school wrote and spoke very strongly in favour of strict obedience to the rubrics of 1662, a book which in its preface forbids categorically the Uses of Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, York and Lincoln. But the ornaments of church and minister, and the odd inversion of the processional order, have been retained in a number of churches, including several cathedral and collegiate churches. The reason for this continuance is to some extent an artistic one. In 1899 church ornaments and furnishing on the Continent were almost entirely (and still are very largely) baroque; which is a style impressive and inspiring in its own architectural setting. A great baroque High Mass would, of course, be a magnificent spectacle eminently suitable for, say, S. Paul's or Birmingham Cathedrals; but it would not harmonize so well with the architecture of most of the English cathedrals and greater churches.

Against this general background did the resurgence of the 'Western Rite' occur. It was not brought about by the Society of S. Peter and S. Paul, nor by Adrian Fortescue; those were productions which merely flourished because they were born into an atmosphere which was ready prepared for them. Their adherents within the Catholic Movement consciously or unconsciously felt that in going along with the stream of contemporary Catholic practice in other countries they were following more surely in the footsteps of the great priests of the previous century; Lowder, Mackonochie, Dolling, and many another: nor was their instinct wrong.⁹

⁸ This phase is described in fuller detail by D. Morse-Boycott in *The Secret Story of the Oxford Movement* (1933), pp. 118–20, 239–41.

⁹ The difficult subject of the relation of 'Western Rite' to true devotion was gallantly tackled and brilliantly brought down by Wilfred Knox in chapter ix (pp. 229–38) of *The Catholic Movement in the Church of England* (1923).

LIFE AND LIBERTY

THE freedom of *Ecclesia Anglicana*, which was promised in Magna Carta but has never yet been attained in full, was laid down as one of the original aims of the Tractarian or Oxford Movement. The struggle had been revived to a notable degree in 1847, when Hampden was appointed to the see of Hereford, in insolent defiance of the protest by Dr. Merewether, Dean of Hereford, although the dean was backed up by no less than thirteen bishops and 1,650 priests, actually headed by the archbishop (Howley) of Canterbury. It is hardly just for us to blame the Chapter of Hereford for having submitted in the long run, for the position of things in that comparatively remote period was vastly different from what it is now. We are, however, still in the same state of things as regards the method of appointment: indeed, perhaps a trifle worse off, as there is not even the slightly blasphemous farce of a capitular election in the case of the many modern sees which have no deans and chapters, but merely provosts. In those cases, the appointment of a new bishop is made by Letters Patent, without even the pretence of consultation with or approbation by the clergy of the diocese. At present we can perhaps do no more than look forward to the day when some dean will be inspired with a truly medieval spirit, and will compel that official who now corresponds to the summoner of old (so it be not the innocent postman) to consume his *congé d'élire*, wax seal and all, on bended knee in the Chapter House.¹

This topic of episcopal appointments by the Prime Minister brings back to my remembrance one of the most picturesque of our past leaders whom I have had the good fortune to know. I first met T. A. Lacey at Highgate, where he was Warden of the House of Mercy; and when he was promoted to a canonry at Worcester he was our near neighbour at Pershore, where the Nashdom Community was established from 1914 to 1926. I

¹ For a full and authoritative discussion on this question of episcopal nominations, see Archbishop Garbett's *Church and State in England*, chap. ix.

shall never forget the sight and sound of Lacey striding through the nave of the cathedral, remarking to me in his sonorous tones about—‘anent,’ he would have said—some subject or another ‘Far be it from me to disagree with my ecclesiastical superior, if indeed he be my ecclesiastical superior, a matter upon which I have the gravest doubts.’ What had actually happened was that when the *congé d’élire* arrived at Worcester in 1919 by which the King, upon the recommendation of Lloyd-George, desired the Chapter to elect Ernest Pearce, then a canon of Westminster, Lacey had determined to register his protest against the system. This action would have been in essence a matter of principle, but the theological views and the personality of the nominee doubtless had something to do with this decision.

When the ceremony of election opened, after the dean had read the *congé d’élire* Lacey solemnly rose and proposed a candidate of his own. Such was the flutter caused by this unexpected *dénouement* that one of the five members of the chapter (Canon Cronshaw) was too agitated to record his vote. The dean and two others voted for the Crown’s nominee, Lacey for his own candidate. Now the cathedral of Worcester, being a ‘New Foundation’ erected in the sixteenth century to replace the Benedictine chapter of the diocese, retained in its statutes (as I was given to understand) the traditional canonical rule that a two-thirds majority was necessary in the case of electing a superior; the bishop of Worcester having been titular abbot of the cathedral monastery: so that Dr. Pearce’s majority of 60 per cent fell short of the minimum required for a valid election. And Lacey, when mentioning Pearce’s name to me afterwards, would maintain ‘He may be and indeed is *de facto* bishop of Worcester, but he is not *de jure* bishop thereof.’

Interference by the State in religious affairs was not infrequent up to 1887, in which year James Bell-Cox, vicar of S. Margaret’s, Liverpool, was released from prison: but it was not conspicuous again for another forty years, when the first attempt at a revised Book of Common Prayer was thrown out in the House of Commons. Up to 1887 it had mostly taken the form of decisions made by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the initiative in such cases being, of course, not that of any government department, but of organized protestantism. The so-called

trial of Bishop King of Lincoln in 1892 marked a change; henceforward the protestants, realizing that their appeal to the secular arm was doing their cause no good, would try a new set of tactics; and the day of State interference with individual priests was over.

Resentment at the appointment of bishops by the State continued, however, and all the keener because the nomination had by this time become entirely the personal act of the Prime Minister who, unlike the Lord Chancellor, does not necessarily have to be a member of the Church of England, or indeed of any religious body, Christian or otherwise. Some degree of justification could be found for the personal nomination by the Sovereign, who is solemnly anointed at the opening of his or her reign for certain duties, among them that of acting as 'Supreme Governor' of the Church of England: and it has often been pointed out that there is abundant pre-reformation precedent for the Sovereign's nomination of archbishops and bishops, and moreover that the Most Christian King of France exercised the same right for centuries.

Thoughtful men, of the laity as well as of the clergy, while not unaware of the difficulties which beset a church 'by law established,' have long been persuaded that this matter of the method of appointing bishops is the root which underlies those difficulties. In 1917 the dissatisfaction came to a head in certain quarters, precipitated by the almost total failure of a much-publicized, badly timed, and woefully mismanaged 'National Mission of Repentance and Hope' which was launched by the authorities in that year, the darkest and most strenuous of the war years: and the result was the 'Life and Liberty' campaign.² At that time I was working at the Faith Press, then in Buckingham Street, Strand, and there I had a good opportunity for sampling the views of a representative number of priests who dropped into the bookshop from all parts of England.

As the name of the Faith Press has cropped up, this will be

² Perhaps the best account of the Life and Liberty Movement is that on p. 220 onwards in F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple* (1948). The author of that book, with Temple and H. R. L. Sheppard, was one of the three principal figures in the movement.

as good a place as any other to digress shortly upon the Society of the Faith.

At the turn of the century the Faith Press Limited, with the 'non-profit making' Society of the Faith behind it, had been established at Leighton Buzzard. Some years later it had opened a bookshop in London, wherein were usually to be met the Revd. C. E. Douglas, the inventor of Sunday School stamps and founder of the Society of the Faith, and then in his prime ; and for some years a third priest besides myself, all busy interviewing prospective clients as well as attending to the various office duties, which fell more and more upon clerical shoulders as the available staff went into war work. The printing works at Leighton Buzzard were under the oversight of the Managing Director, Henry Rutherford, who paid us a weekly visit in London to check our amateur excesses. T. Noyes Lewis was then at the zenith of his success as a designer of the Faith Press stamps for attendance at Mass or Catechism, but his pupil Wilfred Lawson was in the army. It was not until after the war that Lawson got the Faith Craft-Studio (now the Faith Craft-Works Limited) into running order as a second subsidiary company controlled by the Society of the Faith, whose object was and is to popularize the Catholic Faith.

The Society and its bookshop in Buckingham Street was in a central position in the line of the advance. Though not identical with them in its outlook, it was in friendly touch with other groups such as the extreme right or baroque wing represented by the Society of S. Peter and S. Paul, or the more respectable clientèle who preferred as a rule to shop with Messrs. Mowbray but gave us an occasional look-in, or the more centrally-disposed S.P.C.K. : for it had a more comprehensive standpoint than any of these three. For this reason it formed an admirable observation post from which the current trends in ecclesiastical thought and action could be noted. This was true in many directions : in those of Sunday School work and of Church music in particular, and in general of all sorts of matters which involved pamphleteering, among them the Life and Liberty Movement, to which we must now return.

The general opinion at this time seemed to be that a bit of

a riot over the State appointment of bishops could do no harm, and might do a great deal of good: but as for the other objects of the 'Life and Liberty' movement, many thought that the campaign had the wrong men behind it. They were deficient not in respect of zeal and forthrightness, but in lacking a true realization of the nature of the Church, and in omitting to think first in terms of the Catholic Church and only second in terms of the provinces of Canterbury and York. For an example, in the first circular of the Life and Liberty Movement, the Church of England is equated with the Body of Christ.³ This is typical of the sort of loose statement which betrays an equally loose thinking: and this attitude of mind has vitiated not only the Life and Liberty Movement but many another attempt to do great things for God within *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

The great achievement of the Life and Liberty Movement was the Enabling Bill which went through Parliament in 1919; and henceforward measures passed by the National Assembly of the Church of England (i.e. the four Houses of Convocation together with the House of Laymen) were expected to go through the Houses of Parliament quasi-automatically for the Royal Assent. The idea of an Enabling Bill was not new. One had been proposed by Tait so far back as 1879, and another by Davidson himself in 1896. Both seem to have been very similar in outline to that of 1919.⁴ In 1921 the franchise of Convocation was at last reformed, after fifty years of agitation and pigeon-holing, so as to reduce (though not nearly enough) the preponderating official element of archdeacons, bishops' nominees, and so on: the object a worthy one, to make the Lower House a more truly representative gathering of the Lower Clergy.

On the whole the movement was a dismal failure. 'The Enabling Bill even riveted the chains of the State more firmly on the Church, because it gave explicitly to Parliament the right to sanction measures concerning the Church. Hitherto, High Churchmen, at least, had claimed that Parliamentary, as distinct from Royal, Supremacy, was an usurpation.'⁵

And here is another epitaph on the National Assembly by one

³ Iremonger, op. cit., p. 224.

⁴ Bell, op. cit., vol. i, p. 327.

⁵ C. P. S. Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and after* (1932), p. 301.

who was in the thick of the movement from its first beginnings :

'It may be said that at the outset there was a sharp and fatal struggle between two groups in the National Church Assembly who differed widely in their conception of its policy and its purpose and may be called, roughly, the legalists and the moralists. The struggle was a brief one. The legalists—of whom Sir Lewis Dibdin, the trusted adviser of Randall Davidson, will be remembered as the leader—were soon in control. . . . The power in the Church remains exactly where it was before, but at least it has a constitutional sanction in the hands of the bishops, archdeacons and "elder statesmen" who now direct the procedure and control the policy of the National Assembly of the Church of England.'⁶

Strange to say, it is Dibdin himself who echoes this plaint : 'As one who has been throughout identified with the business of the Church Assembly, I think, and I hope I am justified in saying, that we do represent the most instructed laymen of the Church of England, but that we represent the laity as a whole is simply not a fact.'⁷ (He was evidently not quite clear in his mind as to the fundamental difference between selective and representative democracy.)

Legalism has not been, of course, the exclusive property of the House of Laity. Both Houses of Clergy have erred in this respect. A notable example in the Lower House of Canterbury was that on January 15th, 1948—though this is rather later than our period—of a hundred deaf adders stopping their ears against sixty-one who heard and understood the scholarly and (as we should have thought) devastating arguments presented against the proposed form of the new Canon XII, 'Of Conformity to the Book of Common Prayer.'⁸

The Life and Liberty Movement might have done great things if it had only realized that the Catholics in the English Church were not just a group of men and women which happened to possess a rather disproportionate share of the best brains among churchmen, and whose priests were noticed grudgingly from time to time by some unsympathetic bishop as being the hardest workers in his diocese ; but that they were in actual fact the

⁶ Iremonger, op. cit., p. 281.

⁷ *Establishment in England* (1932), p. 81.

⁸ *Chronicle of Convocation* (1948), pp. 42–55.

pre-eminently true and loyal sons of the Church in this land, the inheritors of her splendid traditions, the upholders of her sacramental life and her glories of worship. But its leaders made the fatal mistake of looking in a patronizing way upon what they regarded as merely the 'Anglo-Catholic group,' considering it to be just one more pressure group (which is exactly what they themselves were), a body of men and women whose support they would find useful in their nation-wide campaign for the Enabling Bill.

It is about this time that a certain policy or strategy can be discerned among the Catholics which we might dignify with the title of Permeation. It was a break-away from the older condition of things, in which Catholics more or less resigned themselves to being regarded as a peculiar people, a race apart from the general body of Anglicans. To them, convocations were a waste of time: one of them in the early years of the century, Ernest Edghill (whose untimely death at the age of 33 robbed the Movement of one who might well have eventually become a leader of gigantic stature) went so far as to preach from Exodus 12: 16: 'In the first day there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation unto you; no manner of work shall be done in them.'

But now Convocation was busier, and did get a certain amount of work done: and among Catholics the advantages of associating with the various central bodies and societies were extolled. The new idea was that instead of abstaining from, or even boycotting, such bodies as the Life and Liberty Movement for example, Catholics should join them in such numbers as to ensure, if not an effective majority, at least an influential minority which could make its voice heard and prevent disasters which might otherwise occur. The unsatisfactory conclusion *pro tem* of the South India question examined in chap. xi below is perhaps a testimony to the failure of the policy of Permeation, at least since the failure of the Lower House to act decisively in 1955: or perhaps that is an isolated example, and the policy will be found in the long run to have been well-advised. It is too soon to judge yet, and the verdict is one which must be pronounced by some future generation.

There is something to be said in favour of this Permeation policy; and something against it, for at best it savours of the pressure group. The Lower Houses of Convocation have now more or less cleared themselves from any charge of idle or cowardly subservience to the Upper Houses, and the prestige and importance of those assemblies is such that adequate representation of the Catholics is a clear duty. And they might very well be represented more numerously than they are at present. The Lower House, at least in Canterbury Province, is still over-weighted with the official element, diocesan and capitular nominees and the like, who themselves often owe their position to the State-appointed bishops. Some of these are, as individuals, Catholics; but as a class, and as a numerous and weighty class, they are not: they tend to fall in with and reinforce the small but influential central group which, straddling uncomfortably with one High leg and one Low, seeks to maintain itself in a tottering equilibrium as the great Bridge of the Glorious Comprehensiveness of the Church of England.

There can be little doubt but that the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation is—thanks to the reform of the clerical franchise in 1921, and to the efforts of sundry proctors among whom the Revd. C. E. Douglas was the most prominent—a vastly different body from what it was eighty years ago. I have made it my business when preparing this chapter to read through several volumes of the *Chronicle of Convocation* in the 1870s, and to compare them with those of the 1940s. Of sundry changes, that of the franchise reform is the most far-reaching: already in the seventies we find a steady stream of petitions for this reform pouring in at every session, and to either House: in every case pigeon-holed or otherwise postponed, sometimes after having reached the comparative dignity of having been sent up from the Lower House to the Upper as *gravamina et reformanda*. In those far-distant days the level of scholarship is as a rule lower than that of oratory; whereas that of statesmanship is lower still. We find that the greatest excitement and the longest speeches are called forth by the less important things, such as for example the Burials Bill, to open the country churchyards to deceased Nonconformists: and it does not seem to have occurred to any of the dignified proctors of that generation (not even to Arch-

deacon Denison) that one speech, or one simple statement published by a country clergyman, to the effect that nothing could give him greater pleasure than to read the Burial Service over any Nonconformist in his parish at the earliest convenient date, would have finished the entire controversy without delay. And the atmosphere of both Houses was that of a frank and unchallenged Erastianism.

It must clearly be right for Catholics to elect as many proctors as they can manage to send to the Lower Houses of Convocation. Much as some of these proctors may feel at first chilled by the whole atmosphere of these assemblies, and the boring and pompous futility which would seem at times to be inseparable from its archaic procedures—as may be seen from a perusal of *The Chronicle of Convocation*—yet if the two Lower Houses of Canterbury and York are to be left merely to the officials or ‘gaiterfolk’ and their henchmen, proctors who are ‘non-party’ men, we shall be in trouble before long. The ‘non-party’ men are in reality partisans of the small central party which retains its influence by holding the balance between the large wing of Low Churchmen on one hand and the much larger wing of ‘Anglo-Catholics’ on the other. They are often fallaciously described as ‘sound,’ ‘safe’ or ‘moderate’ men. Yet another variety was presented to the Lower House of York Convocation in 1946, when a new proctor was presented with the recommendation that ‘his churchmanship was simple’; and the Prolocutor followed by remarking ‘it is interesting to hear that his churchmanship is simple, for that quality is very often a little uncertain in these days.’ I have pondered long on Mr. Prolocutor’s statement and cannot satisfy myself as to its meaning: I think he was intending to be laudatory; but at times I wonder if the tongue was not in the prolocutorial cheek; and at others whether he was not praising with faint damns. Whatever he meant precisely, the general meaning is clear; and it is also clear—at least to the writer—that this sort of thing is going to get us nowhere; and if not, then we are going to get either on the rocks or on the Rock. No: if Convocation cannot do better than this, the barque of *Ecclesia Anglicana* will again be in sorry plight, such as she was when Euroclydon blew from South Indian seas, ‘And when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we

let her drive'⁹: which seems to sum up very aptly the state of things when Convocation had finished with South India in 1955.

Words can be sad traps at times. Permeation, in the sense of a policy which seeks to leaven the heavy lump of the official committee, I have ventured to discount, if not to deplore: but Permeation, in the sense of the steady gradual transformation of *Ecclesia Anglicana* through the recovery of her whole doctrinal and liturgical heritage, has been the historic strategy of the Catholic Movement since Tractarian times. In 1926 a series of papers began to appear under the title of *The Future of the Catholic Movement*, by Kenneth Ingram; and in the opening article he put his finger on the central truth that 'The Movement has won its way in the past because it kept to the path of permeation, permeation, that is, through the English Church. . . . Its own particular vocation has been this work of permeation. . . . If that vocation were to be forsaken . . . the Movement would cease to move: it would harden into a uniform standard of belief and practice and ceremonial.'¹⁰ It is unfortunate that Ingram's considerations, as we may suspect from later developments, led him and his school of thought to abandon this promising beginning. But before the matter can be adequately discussed it will be necessary to fill in the background by introducing the Anglo-Catholic Congresses.

⁹ Acts 27: 15.

¹⁰ *The Green Quarterly*, vol. iii (1926), p. 209 (and thereafter).

TO THE ALBERT HALL

THE Life and Liberty campaign was not the only aftermath of the 1914–18 war in the English Church. By the time that Life and Liberty were under weigh, a small number of London priests, together with a few from other parts of the country, had met to consider the opportunity and the desirability of taking some definite forward step, both to consolidate ground won and to display the Catholic standard in a manner not heretofore found practicable. In the years before 1920 the successors and the descendants of the Tractarians had remained content with being treated as a minority within the not always hospitable fold of the Church of England; a minority ridiculed, persecuted, even in a few cases imprisoned, ignored, misrepresented, or ostracized by turns, as the whim of bishop or diocesan chancellor or editor might dictate. But this minority had been steadily increasing its numbers, and there were those who rightly thought that some demonstration of its strength by the method of a great Congress in London would be of great value, as a prelude to the conversion of England which might by faith be expected in God's good time. This conversion had been (*mutatis aliquatenus mutandis*) the target—widely missed in either case—both of the National Mission of Repentance and Hope, and of the Life and Liberty Movement. Briefly stated, it may be said that the Congress movement achieved what it set out to do to the extent of reaching its first objective, that of a demonstration of strength; but that it has so far—like its predecessors—failed to attain its ultimate objective. Some possible reasons for this will be considered later on in this and the following chapter.

In reaching their limited objective the early Anglo-Catholic Congresses were successful in that they showed the people of this country and the wider world beyond that the adherents of the Movement were not just a mere handful of eccentric or ritualistic clergymen and pious women, salted with a few ‘ecclesiastically-minded laymen’ of the type of Lord Halifax and Athelstan Riley.

An account of the first Congress says: 'The time was exactly ripe, and an enthusiasm was aroused which none had dared hope for. As the membership increased, one hall after another was engaged, only to be found inadequate, until in July 1920, the Albert Hall was filled from floor to ceiling twice daily for a week.'¹ The procession of 1,200 priests through the streets at Holborn, on their way to the High Mass at S. Alban's, was another and an equally effective demonstration of power.

As a result of these exhilarating experiences some of the Anglo-Catholic mice,² having finished the barrel of beer, brushed up their whiskers and looked round for the protestant cat. Others, however and alas, began to consider what advantages might be gained by making terms with the officials. The small central moderate party which reigned in high places, disclaiming that they were members of any party—as candidates for proctorships in Convocation do even unto this day—while being more closely knit in partisanship than either of the wings, had retained its position by an uneasy balancing between the large and active groups which held definite opinions, Low, Broad or Catholic. Relatively few in numbers, they contained many shrewd brains, and they were not slow to see that much could be done to stay or stop the Movement by exhibiting aprons and gaiters as inducements to its leading men, if only they would promise to be good boys and not do positively wicked or even Roman Catholic things. For example, there is the whole incident, with its two sequels, of the famous telegram to the Pope.

This took place at the second Anglo-Catholic Congress, in 1923, and aroused immense public interest. The president on that occasion was Frank Weston, bishop of Zanzibar and already a public figure through his denunciations of the protestant inter-communion service at Kikuyu, and of the heretical nature of some writings of Hensley Henson, bishop of Hereford; with which diocese he had declared Zanzibar to be out of communion. The Congress was a memorable occasion, no less enthusiastic than the first, and dominated all through by the forceful personality of Frank Weston. The electric current of his fighting

¹ D. Morse-Boycott, *The Secret Story of the Oxford Movement* (1933), p. 24¹.

² For further details, cf. Alfred Lansing, *Endurance* (1959), p. 62.

and evangelical speeches induced men to say that at last the Catholics of England had found their leader : for Pusey—who hated the idea of being thought a leader—had been dead for forty years, and Lord Halifax was now eighty-four ; but though it was a young eighty-four, no one could suspect that four years later Halifax was to reassume the office of President of the English Church Union, and that on January 1st, 1934, he would become joint President (with Bishop Chandler) of the Church Union which had been formed on that day by the amalgamation of the English Church Union and the Anglo-Catholic Congress. Men looked to the bishop of Zanzibar as the new leader ; but it was not to be : by the inscrutable will and wisdom of God, in the following year Frank Weston was called to his reward, at the age of 53. Throughout the Movement it was dimly or in some cases clearly perceived that a disaster, perhaps a major set-back, had been experienced for the first time in the ninety years of its history. Others realized, perhaps more truly, that Frank Weston would never have left his African sheep for a post in England, without which he could not hope to function effectively as a leader. And no leader has yet arisen. That may not, after all, be altogether a bad thing. The Church of Christ rests her strength upon one Person, one Personality, alone : the Son of Mary, the Word Incarnate.

To return to the subject of the telegram. It was, I believe, the second morning of the Congress which was opened with the passing of formal telegrams of greeting to be sent to Their Gracious Majesties, to the archbishops, to the bishop of London, and perhaps to other notables. After these had been authorized for dispatch with all due acclamation, Weston then put forward the proposal of a similar telegram to the Holy Father. My Benedictine habit had earned for me the privilege of sitting very close to the platform, and from my seat I heard, and I can still hear, the instantaneous shout of joy rising from the entire vast hall ; appearing to start—if it started from any one place before another, which is a common deception of the hearing in a large building—just close to where I sat, in company with Cowley Fathers and ‘Mirfield Monks’ (as the protestants loved to call them) in an enclosure reserved for members of the religious orders, Father Biggart, c.r. being my neighbour. In a split

second the cry could be heard arising from floor to ceiling ; while on the platform could be observed sundry representatives of the Episcopate responding in various degrees, which seemed to reflect very closely the varying shades of their habiliments ; the reddish and pinkish soutanes clapping and cheering wildly, the violet and purplish cassocks clapping, but not too hard or too long ; and one suffragan clad in navy blue hardly at all, apparently not approving but not caring to manifest disapproval.

The first sequel is soon told. Two days afterwards Father Frere, Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, made a courageous speech saying that he thought the famous telegram had been a mistake, because it was sure to be misunderstood in Rome : and apparently the reactionary forces gave him some support. In the following month he was offered the bishopric of Truro. Too guileless in himself to suspect that this could possibly be a deliberate 'move' on the part of the archbishop, he accepted —it is said, perhaps untruly, on a post card. And so the policy of admitting to the bench of bishops one Anglo-Catholic, certified to be not too extreme, was inaugurated. It was outlined by Davidson in his usual carefully qualified language, in a letter to Frere of August 28th, 1923³ :

'For a long time past I have felt strongly that the Church had been suffering from the fact that among the diocesan bishops there was no one who could speak with responsibility on behalf of what is called, however inadequately, Anglo-Catholicism, and yet be able to regard these questions largely, sanely, and with the equipment of scholarly knowledge. Men who can do this can certainly be found. But that is not enough. We need someone whom the Prime Minister can fairly be urged to nominate, as a man who carries the confidence of churchmen generally, whether they are of his school or not.'

The rightness of Davidson's judgment in this matter has not received universal agreement. Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke, writing twenty years later, says : 'As his friends knew, Dr. Frere's personality was unique : he was austere in literary matters as in personal discipline ; in the front rank of liturgical research, he had little sympathy for modern embellishments ; his simplicity, subtlety, depth and charm eluded analysis. He was certainly not

³ Bell, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 1251.

fitted to "represent" the rank and file of Anglo-Catholic parishes. If, as is possible, the other bishops during the years 1925-7 felt that in satisfying Dr. Frere they were meeting the wishes of Anglo-Catholics, they were mistaken.⁴

Certainly the vacuum of which Davidson complains did exist. Charles Gore had retired from Oxford four years previously; but even if he had still been a diocesan bishop, and thereby admissible to the Lambeth conclaves, and even if *Lux Mundi* had been by this time forgotten or forgiven (who ever reads it now?) he would hardly have been likely to measure up to Davidson's requirements on account of what many people thought to be his clumsy handling of the Caldey difficulties in 1912-13.⁵ Moreover he was notably unpopular with the Low Church party. Nor, on other grounds—those of 'scholarly knowledge'—would Winnington-Ingram of London fill the bill. He was known by practically all the clergy of his diocese, as well as by countless others throughout England, with affection or with exasperation or with both, as 'Uncle Arthur.' His role in the Catholic Revival is now coming to be appreciated more at its true worth. But for his understanding sympathy—which was rather more than a mere pragmatic approval of hard workers—with the Catholic-minded clergymen of his diocese, and for his toleration within certain ill-defined limits of such practices as Reservation in the open church, or Devotions before the Blessed Sacrament, London would never have been able to have maintained its place in the very forefront of the advance. But Winnington-Ingram stood firm, although his policy must have cost him considerable loss of confidence at Lambeth, and although it was a sore point which caused some annoyance to the central party in general and to police-minded bishops of certain other dioceses in particular. One of these, Cyril Garbett, bishop of Southwark at that time and later archbishop of York, notes in his diary in 1939 when bishop of Winchester, 'He always told us at Bishops' Meetings that in London there was no disobedience, but this was only because there were no rules to obey. He has left the diocese in a condition

⁴ *The Prayer Book of 1928 Reconsidered* (1943), p. 78.

⁵ The letters which passed between Gore and the Abbot of Caldey have been reprinted under the title of *A Correspondence* (no date or publisher; presumably printed for private circulation only). The most recent and best-informed source is P. F. Anson, *Abbot Extraordinary* (1958).

of ecclesiastical chaos, every man a law unto himself. His kindness of heart left him lax and easy-going.⁶

Some of the bishops must have envied the affection felt towards 'Uncle Arthur' by nearly all the clergymen of his diocese, over which he presided—'ruled' is hardly the right word, we must admit—from 1901 to 1939, retiring at the age of 81 for another six years of unabated activity which included tennis, squash rackets and golf.

But if the archbishop fondly imagined that by bringing Walter Frere into the Upper House of Convocation he could ensure the services of a kind of Black Pope, he was quite wrong. In 1923, entry into that House would be generally taken to involve some automatic loss of confidence from Catholics. This was manifested, for example, when Frere came to present the bishops' proposals at Keble College, Oxford, in 1930, at the conference to be described in chapter xi below. Eventually a change of atmosphere did come about, and it can perhaps be dated from the consecration of Kenneth Kirk to Oxford and Francis Underhill to Bath and Wells in 1937.

Frere retired from Truro in 1935; and if the Davidson policy was being carried on by his successor, Cosmo Gordon Lang, the selection of Kirk was admirable, whereas that of Underhill was not so successful. Without wishing for a moment to suggest that he was not a good bishop to his diocese, it is quite certain that Underhill did not answer to the Davidsonian requirement of 'a man who carries the confidence of churchmen generally, whether they are of his school or not.' As to how far he carried the confidence of the High, Low, Broad and Moderate parties ('schools of thought' is the polite euphemism) the writer has no information: but as to the Catholics, it is quite certain that Underhill had very largely lost what influence he had possessed some time before his elevation to the episcopate. He had at one time been at the heart of things,⁷ and as far back as 1918 he had published *The Catholic Faith in Practice*, a typical 'Anglo-Catholic' manual

⁶ Charles Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett* (1959), p. 184: and cf. Bell, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 808–13. Garbett—and his biographer even more so—exaggerated the condition of 'chaos': Smyth even uses the phrases 'that Augean stable' (p. 183) and 'a mess' (p. 184).

⁷ Cf. Evelyn Waugh, *The Life of Ronald Knox* (1959), p. 119.

of a pastoral character, containing one chapter at least—xiii, on the Prayer Book—which is very good and of permanent value. On page 151 of that book he had recommended the use of the Rosary, of Devotions to the Blessed Sacrament, and even of Benediction. From this position as one of the most ‘advanced’ men in the year 1918 he steadily declined in the next decade: and however well intended and conscientious his motive for moving over to a *Thus-far-and-no-farther*, or to a Permeationist, standpoint, his influence in Catholic circles had almost entirely vanished. ‘The bishops hoped that the Revd. F. Underhill represented the main body of Anglo-Catholics, but were blind to the true facts. Francis Underhill, as vicar of S. Alban’s, Birmingham, had been the Rupert of the Movement, but had changed since leaving that city set on a Midland Hill. He had become convinced that Anglo-Catholics would be wise at all hazards to obey the episcopate, to stress the Catholic principle of obedience, and courageously advanced this view in and out of season, to the grave disadvantage of the Movement. “Look at Underhill,” the bishops said among themselves, “he is willing to go with us. *Therefore we have captured the Movement.*” It is only charitable to believe that Francis Underhill failed to realize that he was without a portfolio, and only true (and therefore fair) to say that had he been the Underhill of yesterday he could (and would) have led a united Movement in such opposition to the Revised Prayer Book as would at least have saved the episcopate from rushing headlong to a greater humiliation than the first.’⁸

Finally, on June 20th, 1929, there appeared in *The Times* a letter⁹ on behalf of a new and short-lived ‘Westminster Group’ in declared opposition to one printed two days earlier over the signatures of Lord Halifax, Dr. Darwell Stone, and three other prominent theologians supporting the action of the twenty-one incumbents described in the next chapter: that letter was signed by Charles Gore and Francis Underhill.

The second sequel to the Roman telegram, and to the discussions which followed, is that those who were active behind the scenes in the offices of the Anglo-Catholic Congress had to

⁸ Morse-Boycott, op. cit. (1933), p. 246.

⁹ Reprinted in *The Transactions of the Twenty-one* (1930), p. 45.

decide whether they would stand with Weston or with Frere in this affair. And it appears, now that close on forty years have elapsed, that the old Fires-of-Smithfield, No Popery, nonsense had not yet been finally eradicated. Those who were prepared to look upon the Holy Father as the natural head of the Christian Church upon earth, whether in Western Europe only or throughout the world, whether of the *esse* of the Church or only of its *bene esse*, stood fast by Weston : but there were many who preferred to range themselves with Frere. There was of course no open breach, and hardly a bifurcation ; but the tendency towards a divergence was revealed, and this tendency, like the lack of a leader, still exists. It is a source of weakness, and one which is also a source of joy and triumph to the adversary. And one of the results of the 1923 Anglo-Catholic Congress was to lose from that body, not only then but also at the Centenary celebrations ten years later, much support from the keener Reunionists, and from others who had not the least intention of being dragooned from Congress headquarters into some stereotyped form of Anglo-Catholicism. Rightly or wrongly, the fear was felt and expressed that the organizers at this centre were trying to call a halt and say that enough ground had been won. And the result was that the authentic front line movement went on moving and left what it had by way of a central headquarters far behind. Nicknames and jargon are in themselves sometimes amusing, sometimes little more than contemptible as forms of argument ; but they are useful as straws which show the way the wind is blowing. And after 1923 it was not unusual to hear the terms 'Anglo-Catholic' with an accent on the first syllable and none on the third, or 'hyphenated Catholic,' used in a pejorative sense as almost equivalent to 'High Church.' And some suspicion, not entirely without justification, was aroused in this period by the words and actions of some who, while desiring to be regarded as Catholics and quite sincerely believing themselves to be so, ought to have known better. We can wonder whether this was motivated by a desire to stand in well with authority, or whether it was a mistaken piece of strategic experiment, or whether it was plain stupidity. Perhaps it was a mixture of all three. Frank Weston, however, thought it was the first :

‘We Anglo-Catholics have need to stiffen our backs, lest, with

an eye to an easy victory, we bow our heads in modern houses of Rimmon. We must not sacrifice Catholic truth to success. Nor must we lean on their patronage and sympathy who in their hearts are opposed to our ultimate aim. We are definitely called by God to end party spirit in the Anglican Communion and to lead British Christians to love the Catholic Church. We shall never do this by compromise of the truth; brotherly charity does not require the betrayal of principle.¹⁰

After the events of 1923 the organization of the Anglo-Catholic Congress movement settled down to the business of arranging regional meetings in provincial centres. The writer took part in three of these, at Bournemouth, Sunderland and Kettering. There as elsewhere much encouragement was given to the clergy and laity of the neighbourhood, who in certain parts of England still felt themselves to be in a somewhat isolated minority. Some gallant attempts were made to keep alive the enthusiasm aroused in 1923 by the bishop of Zanzibar's speeches crying for the conversion of England. But the voice that had for a moment set the better part of the English Church on fire was stilled: and upon the salaried and other officials who directed the Congress movement from its headquarters had descended the mantle, not of Frank Weston, but something woven from a very different loom. Moreover the atmosphere was now beginning to be obscured by the smoke arising from the burning controversies which preceded, accompanied and followed the demolition of the Deposited Book of 1927. But Prayer Book Revision demands a chapter to itself.

¹⁰ H. Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar* (1926), p. 298.

1928 AND ALL THAT

THE curtain rises upon the drama of Prayer Book Revision on June 21st, 1906, the day on which the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline reported, and recommended that in addition to ten dreadful things which 'should be made to cease by the exercise of the authority belonging to the bishops or, if necessary, by action in the ecclesiastical courts'—and are now ten times as prevalent—'Letters of business should be issued to the Convocations with instructions (a) to consider the preparation of a new rubric [*anglice*, to prepare a new rubric] regulating the ornaments (that is to say the vesture) of the ministers of the Church, at the times of their ministrations, with a view to its enactment by Parliament: and (b) to frame, with a view to their enactment by Parliament, such modifications of the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and of its present needs seems to demand.'

So prolix is the polysyllability of the language employed through all this part of our story that many things must, in the interests of brevity and clarity, be translated into plain English. Words are supposed to be used for the purpose of transmitting thought, but they can also be used for the purpose of concealing the absence of thought.

Shortly, then, the recommendation is to reshape the rubrics of the Prayer Book so that no room is left for doubt; with the intention of making it easier to jump hard on all who will not toe the line.

And so the curtain rises. It was not the first attempt that had been made to stage a performance, though the previous dramas seem to have been farces rather than tragedies. Leaving on one side such proposals as had been made between 1662 and 1833, as wholly outside the scope of this work, there are two of these farces which might be mentioned here:

(i) 'A number of Evangelical clergy united with Lord Robert Grosvenor (afterwards Lord Ebury) in 1854 to form a Prayer Book Revision Society, and some of their objects were : (a) the substitution of the word *minister* for *priest* whenever the officiating clergyman is intended ; (b) the omission of the Ornaments Rubric ; (c) the removal of certain phrases in the Communion Service that favoured priestly confession and absolution ; (d) the removal from the Baptismal service of such expressions as favoured the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration ; (e) the alteration of the words in the Ordinal, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost," etc., and the clause "Whose sins thou dost forgive," etc., and the corresponding Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick.'¹

(ii) In 1880 there was published *The Convocation Prayer Book*. This displayed the text of 1662 with the alteration of certain rubrics, all in the protestant direction, and was the result of profound and prolonged deliberation by the gaiter-ridden Convocation of those days. It is little more than amateur tinkering, the only point of importance being that an addition to the Ornaments Rubric forbids the use of any vestments but the stole, permitting of course the beloved scarf and hood ; and that this addition was happily rejected by the York Convocation, which required the retention of the original rubric. This revision was stillborn.

But when we reach the year 1906 Randall Thomas Davidson has been on the throne of S. Augustine for three years : he is in the prime of life (58), and his vigour is in its full stride. 'The principal recommendations' of the 1904-6 Commission 'were of Dr. Davidson's shaping.'² Henceforward a revision of the Prayer Book was to be one of the main interests of his life—though Dr. Bell doubted it³—and an achievement by which it was to be expected that his name would go down to history, even as with Dr. Fisher and his Canons.^{3a} The temper in which he approached the campaign was, until the débâcle of 1928, that of a moderate Erastian. Thus, in opening the debate on the Deposited Book in the House of Lords on December 12th, 1927, he said : 'We hear words, which I think windy and even foolish, to the effect that

¹ Baring-Gould, op. cit., p. 93.

² Bell, op. cit., vol. i, p. 472.

³ Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 1331, 1356.

^{3a} 'The revision of the canons . . . has been the favourite child of the Fisher Primacy' (Bishop Wand in *Church Times*, January 20th, 1961).

this is not really a matter for Parliament, that the Church has spoken its own voice decidedly, and that the duty of Parliament is to endorse what the Church has said. I dissent altogether from that view and dissociate myself from those statements.'

Randall Davidson had made up his mind in 1906 to see the affair through the Convocations, through the National Assembly of the Church of England that had been set up in 1922 as a result of the Enabling Act, and through Parliament. The first two parts of this task took him more than twenty years; the third failed, after passing the House of Lords. Of the proceedings and events which culminated in this failure it is quite unnecessary to construct yet one more account, whether in full or in a condensed form. They have been quite excellently summarized in *Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England; a Memorandum of the Church of England Liturgical Commission*,⁴ with a foreword by Archbishop Fisher, then of Canterbury. Not only is this summary clear and free from undue bias, but it is almost incredibly straightforward and refreshing in its language, when compared with the complex verbiage of only thirty years previously. The sections which follow this summary are not quite up to the same high standard, for they contain sundry disputable statements expressed as if they were ascertained facts: for example, it is said that the Evening Mass is not being adopted by Catholics in the English Church.⁵ And there is still rather too much of the spirit of insularity, and of self-sufficiency on behalf of the Anglican Communion; which is after all no more than we should expect from an official publication. But these are matters concerned with 1957, not with 1927: so that we must retrace our steps.

The proposals of 1927 took the form of the permissive use of an Alternative Book, the whole of the 1662 Prayer Book to remain intact. This preservation of the old book was, of course, an exceedingly strong debating-point in favour of the episcopal proposals. The changes in Morning and Evening Prayer, Baptism and Marriage services were not on the whole highly controversial. Most of them (not all) could be admitted on every side to be improvements, though Dr. F. E. Brightman, one of the foremost liturgical scholars of the day, complained of the excessive free-

⁴ Published by S.P.C.K. (1957).

⁵ Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

dom given to the officiant, and pointed out that 'on an ordinary Sunday there are at least 384 possible varieties of Matins if said straight through to the end : but if it is immediately followed by another service, e.g. the Litany, the number rises to 2,080! If hymns and occasional prayers are taken into account, the number becomes practically incalculable.'⁶ After fifteen years of consideration a more deliberate and temperate (though quoting *The Screwtape Letters* in favour of the new Lectionary at one point) but none-the-less devastating criticism was published by Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke.⁷

The changes in the Communion Service were less acceptable, notably in the case of the new Canon. Here it was proposed to copy the Eastern custom of inserting an Epiclesis, or Invocation of the Holy Spirit, *after* the consecration of the Elements, instead of following the ancient custom of the West, which placed this invocation (or the vestiges of it) more logically just before the recital of our Lord's words. The character of this change was openly admitted by Bishop Headlam of Gloucester : 'In every essential point our new Consecration Prayer belongs to the Eastern type.'⁸

These alternative uses were printed, together with the 1662 services, in one 'Composite Book,' the new sections being marked off with black marginal lines. But the Low Church party was not to be appeased by this. Although they were allowed to continue using, according to their lights, the old Prayer Book, the Low Churchmen could not bear that others should have more liberty, particularly if this liberty was to include 'any change in the central part of the Order of Holy Communion, any permission of Reservation, however much safeguarded, any provision of prayers for the departed, any authorization of the "Mass vestments." . . . Cranmer's order was all this group wanted or was prepared to allow others in the Church of England to have.'⁹

And so the proposals were approved, though not authorized, by the Convocations in 1927, and presented to Parliament in accordance with the provisions of the 1922 Enabling Act, by which Parliament was to retain the right of accepting or rejecting, but not of revising, measures submitted from the National

⁶ *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. civ (1927), p. 221.

⁷ *The Prayer Book of 1928 Reconsidered* (1943).

⁸ *Charge* (1927), p. 74, quoted in Brightman, op. cit., p. 236.

⁹ *Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England*, p. 11.

Assembly of the Church of England. It passed the House of Lords, but failed to get through the House of Commons. What were the reasons for this failure? In 1927, judging the matter on the lowest grounds, it was because the House of Commons included members from Scotland, Wales and Ulster, as well as many members from English constituencies—a Parsee, Mr. Shapurji Saklatvala of Battersea, is the most famous of these—who did not belong to the Church and had no knowledge of or interest in its worship-forms. They preferred to show their impartiality, or their duty to their constituents if they really felt it that way, by voting with the opposition instead of abstaining. And the protestant opposition was well and expensively organized by what the bishop of Durham (Hensley Henson) described as ‘an army of illiterates generalled by octogenarians.’

On higher grounds, it can be said, and truly, that the House of Commons was representing the general feeling of uneasiness throughout the country. Good men who were quite indifferent over the matter of Reservation—which was the most crucial and the most bitterly controverted feature in the proposed book, felt somehow that it was all wrong to impose upon the Church in this land a book which was plainly unacceptable to large minorities. As a matter of fact, the majority figures in the Lower House of Convocation, sitting then as the House of Clergy of the National Assembly, were larger than those in the House of Laity. This is indicative of a possibly ‘clericalist’ weight behind the new proposals; which is not in itself wrong, for if the clergy is not entrusted with the ultimate authority in the arrangement of divine worship, for what is it set apart? But it indicated also—from information which was given to me by the Revd. C. E. Douglas, coming hot-foot from the Assembly on the very day of voting, and which I have no reason to distrust—that the House of Clergy suffered some measure of dragooning from the official party. Voting was by papers, and the ‘Aye’ papers were proffered about the hall by emissaries of the Proposer, while the ‘Nay’ papers were hard to obtain, and for some opponents at least, un procurable.¹⁰

¹⁰ I have tried to obtain confirmation or otherwise of this point; but Fr. Harold Riley, Synodical Secretary of the Convocation of Canterbury, informs me that with the death of Gordon Selwyn, dean of Winchester, the last surviving member of Convocation at that date passed away.

Writing a quarter of a century later, Prebendary E. D. Merritt says : 'It is the right of the Lower House, before deciding whether or not to give "concurrence" to proposals sent down from the Upper House, to petition the Upper House for amendments. This right was exercised in 1927. In 1928, however, the Lower House was given no opportunity to exercise its right. Strong protests were made, but without avail. Both in the Life of Dr. Darwell Stone and in the relevant chapter of the book *Liturgy and Worship* the view is expressed that this unconstitutional deprivation of the rights of the Lower House invalidated the whole action of Convocation about the 1928 Book.'¹¹

And there is another testimony which is perhaps the more valuable because it was delivered in 1935, when seven years had elapsed during which facts could be envisaged in due proportion and free from the dust stirred up in the heat of conflict. It is taken from the evidence supplied on behalf of the National Church League to the Archbishops' Commission on the Relations between Church and State, by Mr. Albert Mitchell :

'In the debates in the Assembly the opponents were throughout placed at a disadvantage : and the 1928 Book was rushed through the House of Laity, some most important amendments being coolly deprecated by the members in charge as "representing the bishops" on the ground of insufficient time to discuss them or absence of instructions from the bishops ! When the final debate in full assembly was closed, after limitation of afternoon speeches to four minutes, the then archbishop of York "replied" at unconscionable length. There were serious inaccuracies in the episcopal communications to the Ecclesiastical Committee, on which I myself tackled the bishops' spokesman, and he was unable to justify himself ! Altogether this chapter of history is not very creditable to the episcopate.'¹²

Personally, I am well convinced that the minorities on all three 'wings' were much larger than the voting-figures indicated, even if we allow the Lower House to be truly representative of the Lower Clergy, instead of being still overweighted with capitular

¹¹ *The Erratically Drafted Memories of Edmund Douglas Merritt* (n.d.), p. 140. I am afraid a perusal of the 'relevant' chapter of *Liturgy and Worship* (ed. W. K. Lowther Clarke, 1932, pp. 783-97) does not seem to reveal any particular mention of this high-handed behaviour on the part of the Upper House.

¹² *Church and State: Report of the Archbishops' Commission on the Relations between Church and State* (1935), vol. ii, p. 113.

and archidiaconal members of whom many were episcopal nominees.

Furthermore, and this is one of the most far-reaching lessons to be learnt from the squabbles and squalls of 1927 and 1928; the general body of opinion in the country felt, even if its feelings were not then formulated, that a Prayer Book ought to be planned as a book for prayer and worship, not as a penal code for police regulation to be enacted by Parliament, even if the ecclesiastical courts were to be, after so many nugatory resolutions, reformed. This is a point which has often been made, from 1935 onwards if not before. It was first enunciated, we believe, by Bishop Bell in these words¹³:

'The deepest reason for the failure was that the whole method was from the very beginning wrong. The revision of Church services and the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline are different things. A revision of worship, of common prayer, which is intended from the start to be used as an instrument for stopping disobedience is at any rate not likely to produce the happiest results in the realm of worship. And side by side with this, the recommendation of the Royal Commission to consider the preparation of a new Ornaments Rubric "with a view to its enactment by Parliament"—and to frame modifications in Church services "with a view to their enactment by Parliament"—started all on a false track.'

One of the most encouraging signs of the present temper in which the thorny thicket of Revision is approached lies in the fact that the official Memorandum of the Archbishops' Liturgical Committee, to which we have referred above, takes care to quote this same paragraph, and to amplify it (p. 12): and that in their summary of 'Guiding Principles for future Prayer Book revision' (p. 34) their sixth and last section opens 'Finally, we would stress the fundamental lesson of 1927–8 that in all future work of Prayer Book revision *the sole purpose must be the provision of an enriched, worthier and more fitting vehicle for the worship of God in the Church of England*. There is, of course, a rightful place for discipline in the life of the Church, but we do not believe that Prayer Book revision should be undertaken with disciplinary ends in view.'

After the failure of 1927 a slightly emasculated version of the

¹³ Bell, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 1357.

book was submitted to Parliament : but by the time this Deposited Book (as it had come to be named, because it had to be deposited with the Clerk of the Parliaments as a schedule to be annexed to a Measure) reached the House of Commons on June 14th, 1928, it was already on the downward path. Its supporting majorities in the various Houses of the National Assembly had shrunk, and an outstanding revolt was that of Walter Frere, C.R., the bishop of Truro. He had been one of the most active compilers of the book of 1927, and was the only member of the Upper House who was also a liturgical scholar of the first rank. And liturgy-making was one of his hobbies. But he also possessed a clear and one-track Christian conscience ; and though there was little in the 1928 book to which he had any great objection (had he not written much of it himself?) he could not bring himself to stomach the fact that alterations had been deliberately made between 1927 and 1928 not for the purpose of augmenting the honour given to Almighty God in the worship of His Holy Church, but in the vain hope of propitiating or even of bamboozling the vocal protestant societies, and the sundry uninstructed but eloquent members of the House of Commons, by whose speeches the floating vote was finally swayed to an adverse decision.

The courageous way in which Davidson bore the bitter shipwreck of his hopes is something which ought to be marked up to his credit, and his heroism on that occasion was worthy of a better cause. Sidney Dark, a journalist of that period who was for some time editor of the *Church Times*, speaking not of 1928 but of 1927, reports that he 'was within a few feet of him throughout the whole sitting' in the gallery of the House of Commons, and that 'after the division, he walked out of the gallery alone, to be joined outside by the archbishop of York, not in the least a figure of pathos, but a strong, stubborn, stern old man, temporarily defeated, but even then determined to fight on. I have often been moved to admiration by the archbishop, but never so much as on that December evening, when the work of years seemed to have been destroyed in an outburst of ignorant protestant fanaticism within the House, while a little crowd of forty or fifty people stood in the street in the rain and sang the doxology out of tune.'¹⁴

¹⁴ *Archbishop Davidson and the English Church* (1929), p. 230.

And so the old archbishop had to set himself to the framing of yet another policy. The alternatives, of defying the State or of taking the rejection lying down, were both too stark and too unattractive ; but there must have been some real fascination for him in tackling the difficult task of conjuring out of the hat something in the way of a compromise. This was the kind of work for which his whole career had been distinguished, and for which no other voice or pen had the experience, the skill or (let it be said frankly) the adroitness by which an unsatisfactory situation could be dressed up in dignified language so as to present a working solution of a problem which was in reality hopeless. And so there emerges the well-known declaration of July 1929 in which the bishops of the province of Canterbury (Davidson having resigned in the previous November, but having almost certainly by his spirit if not by his actual presence assisted in that formulation) publicly resolve that henceforth they will ‘be guided by the proposals set forth in the Book of 1928, and will endeavour to secure that the practices which are consistent neither with the Book of 1662 nor with the Book of 1928 shall cease.’ Needless to say, these endeavours have been almost exclusively in one direction, and though it may have been done quietly, we have heard of no single instance in which the sacrilegious practice of some extreme protestants who, instead of consuming the ablutions at Mass, remove what remains of the Blessed Sacrament to the vestry after the service, has been made to cease.

The reasons which lay behind the failure of the 1928 book were still present to oppose themselves as obstacles to the success of the 1929 policy. In the ensuing thirty years many bishops have clung despairingly to this policy, with diminishing effect and in diminishing numbers. The ‘Lambeth Front,’ as it has sometimes been called, has failed for a number of reasons : first, because at its highest level it was never anything more than making the best of a bad job. Second, because as the facts became clearer and more widely known, there was a growing sense of the real wickedness of the 1928 policy of placating Parliament by altering things which the archbishop had claimed to be matters in which the bishops had sought for divine guidance. ‘I am not so presumptuous,’ he had said to the Convocation in 1927, ‘as to claim Divine approval for every decision to which we came, but I am

bold to say that the decisions were reached by men who sought, day by day, strength, courage, and wisdom from on high, and who do not shrink from the distinctive responsibility which in the Church's order belongs to the office which we hold.'¹⁵

In the third place there was an increasing sense of contempt for the book as a liturgical production, as scholarship increased and the utterly devastating criticism of Dr. F. E. Brightman¹⁶—not to mention others—became more widely known. And fourthly, there was beginning to grow up a suspicion that there was something funny about the claim of the individual bishops to a mysterious *jus liturgicum*, about which more must be said. A demurrer to this notion was raised in 1932 by Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke: 'The recommendation of a Lambeth Conference Committee in 1920, asking for the recognition of the principle that "full liberty belongs to diocesan bishops . . . for the adoption of other uses" gets no more support from Roman Catholic law than it does from English practice since the Reformation. The bishop's *jus liturgicum* is surely limited to the sanctioning of services additional to those in the authorized service books and doctrinally in harmony with them.'¹⁷ This was extended by Dom Gregory Dix in 1945: 'We have heard a lot in England of late of the bishop's *jus liturgicum*. The term is entirely unknown to the canon law or to any writer in any country before the late nineteenth century, when it comes into use among a certain group of Anglican ecclesiologists, who invented it as a means of lifting the dead hand of parliamentary statutes off Anglican worship. So far as the primitive bishop had any such right he had it not so much as bishop but as celebrant. When he ceased to be the normal celebrant it passed as a practical fact to other people.'¹⁸ The use of this little patristic-sounding tag can easily become, and has in actual fact become, a method of deceiving the simple and unlearned as well as the great Lord Halifax who, when speaking at the Church Congress in 1899, remarked—common honesty forbids me to suppress the quota-

¹⁵ Dark, op. cit., p. 213.

¹⁶ See above, p. 78. And 'Peterborough,' writing in the *Daily Telegraph* as recently as May 7th, 1960, applies to the book the well-chosen epithet 'ladylike.'

¹⁷ *Liturgy and Worship*, p. 4.

¹⁸ *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 588. This passage has not, so far as I am aware, been controverted.

tion—‘We recognize the *jus liturgicum* as inherent in the Episcopate.’ The context shows that he was giving nothing away; it is his use of the phrase at all that is deprecated here. But to use this expression with the intention of implying that all orders promulgated under the 1929 Policy are in reality sanctioned and authorized by some ancient principle, to which Catholics in particular must pay all possible respect, is rubbish.

The fifth obstacle is the growing realization of the essentially penal object of the 1928 book, of which we have spoken; which is increased by every incident which occurs. Notably is this so in the parts which attempt to regulate Reservation, dealt with in greater detail in the following chapter. And sixthly, the assumption or the claim that the book was authorized by Convocation has been shown to be false. Davidson did not proceed to the final stage of having the book made an Act of Convocation. Dr. B. J. Kidd presiding at the Anglo-Catholic Priests’ Convention at Oxford in 1932 ‘stated that the commonly expressed opinion that the Book of 1928 possessed the authority of Convocation was definitely misleading. The Book was referred by the late archbishop to Convocation, and received the approval of Convocation; but it did not receive the synodical concurrence of Convocation. In this case Convocation merely exercised its right to express an opinion and give approval, a right that any other body might exercise. When Convocation acts synodically, the business in hand is sent down from the Upper House with the request that it may receive concurrence. Such concurrence has constitutional value, and in this case might have injured the relations between Church and State. Archbishop Davidson was aware of the undesirability of making this possible, and therefore deliberately asked only for approval and not for concurrence. The Book of 1928 has therefore never received synodical concurrence.’¹⁹

Seventhly, the whole position and authority of even the 1662 book has received a severe shock. The historical position, which ought to have been frankly acknowledged at an earlier date, was that the books preceding 1662, those of 1549, 1552 and 1559, were never passed by Convocation. This is now, of course, common knowledge. What has not been so well realized is that the Convocation of 1661 was not invited to prepare a Prayer Book,

¹⁹ *Report of the Second Anglo-Catholic Priests’ Convention*, p. 133.

but was handed this parliamentary production in its 1559 form, with instructions to agree upon what alterations they wished and then to submit it for the Royal approval. This they obediently did ; but they were not making a Prayer Book ; they were revising a parliamentary document and preparing a Schedule to be annexed to the Bill for Uniformity in Public Worship ; with what degree of freedom, of scholarship, and of practical insight could only be fully estimated by those who are familiar with the atmosphere of 1661, when Cromwell's ruffians had been fouling the land for fifteen years, the Church proscribed and despoiled, its worship made a penal offence and in the process of becoming forgotten, its elder statesmen dead, and its affections largely influenced by the new tide of enthusiastic loyalty to the restored Sovereign. Charles II, the son of the Royal Martyr, was no more and no less the Lord's Anointed than is Her Gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, whom God preserve ; but the splendour of his position as Supreme Governor of the Church of England irradiated the whole scene. Moreover the Fathers of Convocation were the men of the Restoration, even as Mandell Creighton was of the Diamond Jubilee ; and that they could have thrown the whole of the Elizabethan Prayer Book into the melting pot would have been quite unthinkable, and would have been regarded by the fathers themselves as well as by those outside as being blatant disloyalty. Nor did their terms of reference permit them to do any such thing. 'The king's letters of business did not authorize Convocation to enact canons promulgating the revised Book of Common Prayer, and no such canons were enacted. Convocation was regarded, not as a source of spiritual authority, but merely as a consultative body, exactly as the Savoy Conference had been regarded. It was merely directed to submit suggestions to the king for his approval and authority. The preamble to the Act of Uniformity makes this abundantly clear.'²⁰

To what extent did these alarms and excursions affect the Catholic Revival ? By 1927 its adherents had grown so numerous that its very size was presenting a new problem, the more acute

²⁰ Alban Baverstock and Donald Hole, *The Truth about the Prayer Book* (1935), p. 59.

for the lack of an acknowledged leader. And its expansion was partly due to the fact that a large number of people, laity as well as clergy, who fifty years before would have been rated among the Moderates or the Central Party, had now climbed on to the Anglo-Catholic band-wagon. Among these were some who even penetrated to the inner councils of the Anglo-Catholic Congress movement; and from those headquarters emanated instructions that speakers at the regional congresses were to support the 1927 Prayer Book proposals. This provoked, for the first time in the history of the Revival, something like a split; at the very least, a definite bifurcation. One of these regional congresses was held early in that year at Kettering, combined with a teaching mission. With the full approval of the parochial clergy, the missionaries—the writer and two other priests from Nashdom—declined to follow this directive. On our return, we found that orders had been issued from London by which our names were to be struck out of the list of approved speakers for the congresses, and invitations which had been given for us to preach sermons in London at the approaching Third Congress were cancelled, being withdrawn from our dangerous persons and given to other preachers. This is a small incident, but significant; as to its ultimate importance, the chief organizer responsible for this toe-the-line-or-else behaviour deserted the English Church not long afterwards for the archdiocese of Westminster, a fact which sets it in its right proportion.

The interpenetration of the Catholic Movement by this stream of moderates is interesting. They could fairly be classed as refugees, fleeing from the collapse of the Victorian idea of the English Church as one of the Lutheran Protestant Reformed sects, followed by the equally bankrupt Edwardian notion of a glorious British Empire production with a mission alike to the benighted heathen and to the Roman Catholic ‘Church of decadent peoples.’ They took pride in the continuity of the Church of England, but were only partially convinced of the truth that it taught the Catholic Faith, believing that sundry improvements had been introduced at the Reformation. And these fellow-travellers were not fully absorbed and assimilated. The process has been well described by one who has enjoyed a wider know-

ledge of developments in the world outside a monastery wall :

'It was, I think, in the 1930s, which was an era of appeasement in the ecclesiastical world as well as in the political, that Church authority finally realized that the Catholic movement in the Church of England could not be stamped out ; decades of persecution had merely had the effect of strengthening it. It was then that the devil got to work ; the modern High Church movement represented an attempt to come to terms with the Catholic movement, and so to rob it of its value. Vestments came to be officially advocated, not because they were a symbol of the doctrine of the Mass, but because they looked nicer and more attractive than a plain surplice. . . . The one thing frowned upon was doctrine in any dogmatic form ; in particular, nothing must be taught about the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament and services such as Devotions, or about the duty of sacramental confession. It still needs to be more widely realized that doctrine and discipline are even more essential parts of Catholicism than are ritual and ceremonial. When this is forgotten, you get not Catholicism which is true, but High Churchism which is frightful.'²¹

To sum up, it can be said that the whole attempt to use the *lex orandi* as a method of staying or controlling the Rivers of the Flood was a ghastly failure. The Deposited Book of 1928 'cannot be held to possess any spiritual authority whatever. It was not enacted by the Provincial Synods. The Letters of Business, issued to Convocation in 1906,'²² did not empower that body to enact anything, but merely to submit certain alterations in the Prayer Book, with a view to their enactment by Parliament, and with the avowed object of suppressing the Catholic Revival. In order that a Synod may exercise spiritual authority an essential condition is that it should be "free." In this case it was not free, and did not even profess to be. Its proceedings were based, not on the Faith and Practice of the Catholic Church, but upon the consideration of how much Parliament would swallow. Its action was a scandal from its humiliating beginning to its ignominious end.'²³

²¹ From a sermon preached by Canon E. A. Maycock at Little S. Mary's, Cambridge, in 1959.

²² 1896, in the source quoted, by a proof-error.

²³ Baverstock and Hole. op. cit., p. 69.

On the other hand, and allowing for a certain degree of overstatement, due perhaps to the excitements of the time at which it was written, there is more than a grain of truth in the contemporary verdict of an anonymous writer when he says 'The official leaders of the Church have won a very astute victory. They have steered the Book successfully through dangerous ecclesiastical seas ; they have secured the adherence of Moderates, Modernists, and the main bulk of Catholics and Evangelists [*sic*] and, in addition, they have succeeded in cutting off the more advanced Catholic and Evangelical wings from their respective main bodies. All credit should be given to them for this achievement.'²⁴ But this was written in the lull that ensued the rejection of the 1927 book by the House of Commons, and at a time when it was expected by many that the 1928 edition, openly modified to meet the more hostile elements in Parliament, would secure a majority. In the end, the astute victory was not won after all, at least on its main front. And to-day the upholders and users of the 1928 book, who are very far from numerous, are not to be found (as some of them were to be found in 1927 and 1928) among the ranks of the Catholic clergy and laity, but among the Moderate High Churchmen. 'The greater part of those clergy [*sic*] and laity whom it was especially designed to satisfy regard those particular proposals not only with contempt but with a sort of rancour.'²⁵ With the Catholics, 1928 remains anathema.

²⁴ *Letters to the North Pole*, Second Series. By X. X., *The Green Quarterly*, vol. v (1928), p. 4.

²⁵ Dix, op. cit., p. 707.

THE TWENTY-ONE

THERE was one matter which, more than any other, contributed to the downfall of the 1928 book in the House of Commons, namely the rubrics providing for the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. This was by no means the most important and far-reaching change proposed in that book; indeed it was no part of the liturgical revision of the services, being no more than a grudging sort of permission, which took the form of regulations: and these regulations were far more anxious to control practice and to lay down limits than to provide better facilities for Holy Communion. The new rules were not inserted so as to ensure that the dying should not be deprived of their Viaticum, but to prevent any sort of extra-liturgical devotion, or even, in the 1928 book as opposed to the 1927 production (of which 1928 was a tightened-up version) private prayers to our Lord sacramentally present. They were drafted by Cyril Garbett, at that time bishop of Southwark (1919–32); he was afterwards promoted to Winchester (1932–42) and York (1942–55). The authorship of these rubrics was not disclosed (unless I am mistaken) until the publication of Garbett's biography thirty years later. 'Archbishop Davidson had made him personally responsible for drawing up the rubrics governing the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. After these had been drafted, he spent many hours in testing them with his Domestic Chaplain.'¹ The same domestic chaplain writes: 'When we thought that they were watertight, the bishop bade me take them over to Mervyn Haigh (at that time Principal Chaplain to Archbishop Davidson), saying, "If any one can spot a weakness, Haigh can." And sure enough when Haigh had read them through, he said, "Yes, they are all right, but there is just one that needs strengthening."'²

This is a very depressing peep behind the scenes, not to say disgraceful. Archbishops, bishops, domestic chaplains, putting

¹ Charles Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett* (1959), p. 195.

² *Ibid.*

their heads together to make rules which shall be ‘watertight’ lest any should be able to approach and worship ; to spot any ‘weakness,’ not in the way of condoning negligence on the part of parochial clergymen to enable their sick people to be fortified, their dying to be comforted with Food for the Way, but in permitting any loophole through which the faithful might behold and adore !

Having the whole history of the Catholic Movement in mind, it is not surprising that these tactics provoked a *Resistance*. Granted that the anonymous writer of the *Letters to the North Pole*, quoted at the end of our last chapter, is overstating his case when he speaks of ‘cutting off the more advanced wings from their main bodies,’ there is more than a germ of truth in his contention. For it was at this time that the first important trace of an organization, definitely ahead of the main body—which could be defined as the English Church Union, the Anglo-Catholic Congress organization, and the *Church Times* of that day—began to appear. And it came about as a sequel to the Prayer Book Revision attempt.

The emphasis laid upon Reservation during the debate in the House of Commons was paralleled, after the rejection of the Measure, by the disturbances caused by sporadic episcopal efforts to enforce these arbitrary and prohibitive regulations. As has been truly said, ‘With the rejection of the Revised Book ended the last prospect of “putting down Ritualism” by coercive measures, at any rate under the present constitution of Church and State. . . . Whether we like it or not, coercive authority has broken down in the Church of England, and is not likely to be restored.’³ But the bishops could not see this. Some of them, no doubt, would have been content to let the matter rest there, at any rate for a while ; but there was a hard core of Davidson’s men who desired to see the 1928 rules imposed on all, not so much from disbelief in the Real Presence—a disbelief which most of them would have sincerely repudiated—as from a Tridentine desire to dragoon the clergy into uniformity and practice. There was one bishop at least who stood out against this policy, Arthur Winnington-Ingram, bishop of London. His approach to the problem was a pastoral one. But he suffered for it in two ways : in one direc-

³ C. P. S. Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and after* (1932), p. 282.

tion, with his brethren at Lambeth, who could neither understand nor appreciate Winnington-Ingram's attitude, and regarded him as a quite impossible sentimentalist; and in the other, when he tried to go as far as his conscience would allow him in putting the Lambeth policy into execution for the sake of uniformity, and ran up against a number of his parish priests who were equally conscientious and—as a body—somewhat better equipped on the historical and theological grounds. This group, which came to be known as the Twenty-one, consisted of that number of London incumbents who merely differed from the 149 others who reserved the Blessed Sacrament in that they were ready to make known their objections to the new regulations, and to stand by their belief. One of the 149 remarked to me at the time, 'I have no intention of making any change on account of these new regulations, but I don't see any necessity for writing to tell Uncle Arthur so.'

A Synod of the diocese of London was held on October 24th, 1928, at which the bishop's proposal to follow the rules of the Deposited Book of 1928 with regard to Reservation was voted down by 655 to 292. Even the *Church Times* headlined this as a 'Vote of "No Confidence" in the Bishop's policy.' Notwithstanding this, Winnington-Ingram thought it to be his duty to his fellow-bishops, with whose policy he was obviously not in *ex animo* agreement, to make some attempt at securing acceptance of a system of procedure which was indistinguishable from the Garbett-Haigh regulations. The Twenty-one stood firm, publishing their reasons in an Open Letter which produced a not very convincing reply from the bishop, the whole correspondence and other documents being reprinted as a pamphlet in 1930 under the title of *The Transactions of the Twenty-one*, signed by the Chairman, the Revd. C. P. Shaw, vicar of S. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington.

The emergence of this group was not an exceptional phenomenon, due to the unusual degree of sympathetic treatment enjoyed in the diocese of London. Priests in other parts of the land were of the same mind. 'When the Prayer Book Measure came before the Church 1,400 members of the Federation of Catholic Priests proclaimed that, if the Measure passed, they would feel justified in continuing (i) Communion from the Reserved Sacrament of

the whole, as well as the sick ; (ii) Corporate Devotions before the Reserved Sacrament ; (iii) Reservation in one kind ; (iv) Perpetual Reservation in spite of the prohibition of the diocesan bishop.⁴ In commenting on these four points, Dr. Lowther Clarke says of the last—the only one which seems to demand immediate justification to the casual reader of these pages—‘The demand that the bishops should act together, and that the priest should not be at the mercy of an individual bishop’s whim, is undeniably just.’⁵

This particular incident, lively as was the interest aroused thirty years ago, is now beginning to pass into oblivion. The ground has been covered by the onrush of the Rivers of the Flood, and as they have passed on to irrigate yet another tract of desert the fertilized land has borne its new crop. The details of ‘access to the Sacrament reserved’ ; of reservation, whether it is to be in the open church or in a concealed chapel somewhere ; whether it is to be in a tabernacle or in an aumbry ; of Devotions before the shut, or the open, tabernacle ; of the name which may be given to this service ; of Benediction with the ciborium, or with the monstrance ; all these are past controversies now, at least in the diocese of London. But a monument of that period remains, for the controversy called forth from the Twenty-one a full exposition of their reasons and their position and their belief which was noteworthy for the clarity of its reasoning, its persuasive tone, and its foundation of solid learning. In this Open Letter, addressed to the bishop of London in April or May 1929, occur the following passages :

- i. ‘We believe, as those who made the Elizabethan Settlement believed, that the Church of these Provinces is a true part of that Church which received the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost. If the Church is really one, what we assert to be true of our own part of the Church must *a fortiori* be true of those two greater parts in the East and the West. And the guidance of the same Holy Spirit in all parts of the Church must at least ensure a minimum of essential, fundamental belief common to them all. The Catholic doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament undoubtedly

⁴ Lowther Clarke, op. cit., pp. 79–80.

⁵ Ibid., p. 80.

comes within the scope of this community of belief. On this hypothesis, therefore, we claim that our teaching and practice in no way go beyond that which has authority in the Church in the East and in the West.'⁶

ii. 'There are wider aspects of the situation, and the controversy over the sacrament of the Eucharist is only the outcome of a much larger issue which lies behind it, namely whether or no the claim of the Church of England to be a part of the one true Church founded by Christ demands any practical recognition of our membership with the other parts of Catholic Christendom from which unhappily we are outwardly separated. For ourselves we cannot admit that the Church of England is an autonomous body nor forget that our position is abnormal.

'In the first place these two Provinces are out of communion with every apostolic see, and thus lack an element in catholicity upon which the Primitive Church laid great stress. If we regarded this as an essential note of a true Church, we should not be where we are; but nevertheless we feel that the peculiar position of these Provinces in this respect should inspire caution rather than temerity in action and pronouncement.

'Secondly, authority in the Church of England cannot be relied upon to give guidance which is binding on conscience owing to the confusion which as a matter of fact has resulted from the method of appointment to the episcopate.'⁷

There are of course many other excellent general statements of the Catholic—as contrasted with the *Anglo-Catholic* or High Church—position to be found. One of the best is that by Frank Weston, bishop of Zanzibar, at the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1923:

'We now stand for the Catholic Faith common to East and West. We are not concerned with the shibboleths of low Church, high Church, broad Church, liberal, modernist, or even the new "non-party" party. We stand or fall with Christ's Church, catholic and apostolic. And we wait patiently till the Holy Father and the Orthodox Patriarchs recognize us as of their own stock.'

⁶ *Obedience: A Plea for Catholic Order* 1929, p. 2: *The Transactions of the Twenty-one* (1930), p. 24.

⁷ *Obedience*, p. 5: *Transactions*, pp. 29, 30.

We are not a party: we are those in the Anglican Communion who refuse to be limited by party rules and party creeds. Our appeal is to the Catholic Creed, to Catholic worship and Catholic practice.'⁸

We have given the affair of the Twenty-one a chapter to itself, and have awarded to these incumbents the privilege of its title, not because this one point of the Garbett-Haigh regulations will prove to have been of any lasting importance, but because it does mark the partial success—if it be a success—of a *divide et impera* strategy. From this year 1929 onwards it became obvious that the Catholics were no longer a small struggling minority. In 1932 Sir Lewis Dibdin,⁹ dean of the Arches and the most famous ecclesiastical lawyer of his time, testified to 'the rapid growth of the Anglo-Catholic party and its present strength.'¹⁰ And in the following year Nigel Abercrombie, speaking with some inside knowledge, wrote 'It is estimated that one-third of the Anglican community is Anglo-Catholic in sympathy.'¹¹

In fact, during the whole of this period (1927–33) some underlying uneasiness, usually quite unconscious, can be discerned among the 'Protestant High Churchmen,' as they are sometimes called in controversial literature: for the Rivers of the Flood are one day going to sweep them out of existence as a pressure group—even though they may continue to enjoy official backing—within the English Church. That may not come in our day, but it will come in God's good time.

⁸ H. Maynard Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁹ Dibdin is sometimes spoken of as 'Davidson's most trusted adviser.' This is probably true in a general sense; but my own feeling, which I am glad to find is corroborated by bishop Bell (*op. cit.*, ii, 1163) with a quotation from the Rule of S. Benedict, is that Davidson consulted Dibdin but formed his own opinion. He was too big a man to be run by any one else.

¹⁰ *Establishment in England* (1932), p. 6.

¹¹ *The Dublin Review*, vol. xcvi (1933), p. 77.

THE CENTENARY AND AFTER

THE fourteenth day of July 1833 was the date of John Keble's Assize Sermon on 'National Apostasy' at Oxford, and that date has always been regarded as the birthday of the Catholic Revival, so far as it is possible to fix an actual day for the start of a movement of which the mainsprings had been winding up for some years previously. And so the second week of July 1933 was naturally observed as an occasion for rejoicing and thanksgiving for all the blessing which Almighty God had been pleased to bestow upon his Church in this land through the human agency of the Tractarians and their successors. The Anglo-Catholic Congress organization rightly prepared to make the very most of this centenary occurrence.

Our last chapter was concerned mainly with the events that took place in 1927, 1928 and 1929. In the ensuing four years the scene has shifted: on the Anglo-Catholic stage the discarded lumber of 1928 has been bundled off to the wings, the tabernacle and the aumbry have been discreetly veiled. The orchestra begins to tune up a year or so before the actual centenary performances; the soloists are practising their vocal exercises, the self-seeking are sounding their own trumpets, muffled squawks are heard from those who find themselves destined to play second fiddle, the kettledrums are rattling softly in the corridors of the Albert Hall, mouth-organs (including the writer's) are to be heard in many a pulpit. Quietly in the background a great deal of prayer is being offered up. And now suddenly there jumps on to the band-wagon, all unexpected and largely uninvited, an assortment of high dignitaries: and a 'Central Committee' (why central, unless to underline the central-party aspect of their activity?) was appointed by the two English archbishops to organize appropriate commemorations. It was reported at the time to be 'in close touch throughout with the committee of the Congress; and indeed adopted some of the main items of its programme. All

was arranged by mutual agreement.¹ But the Anglo-Catholic Congress people stole the show; as indeed it was only right and proper that they should.

These gentlemen of the central party were proposing not only to patronize the proceedings by their occasional presence on the platform or in the pulpit, as they had done at previous Congresses, but actually to preside over them and to preach the principal sermons, or at least some of them. Curiously ignoring the career of their Order in the history of the revival, the bishops never seemed to be fully aware that their rightful place in these functions was—as the writer ventured to point out from a London pulpit in 1932—not at the end of the procession, decked in cope and mitre, with pastoral staff often carried in some other prelate's diocese and in the wrong hand (as evidenced by sundry photographs) but at the head, barefoot and clad in the white sheet of the penitent, and with lighted tapers in their hands. But no, they calmly proposed to claim for themselves a share in the merits of this last century of glorious advance. How far they themselves had contributed to it was in many cases more than doubtful; and at least they had made no public or corporate renunciation of their immediate predecessors' obstruction and belligerence.

The organizers of the centenary observances were rather taken aback by this change of front. It was an adroit move on the part of the hierarchy, and the difference between Lang, who was now on the throne of Canterbury, and Davidson was just sufficiently marked to suggest to the Anglo-Catholic world that things had changed now, and that bygones might be admitted—save in the case of really bad men—to be bygones. The bishop of London (Winnington-Ingram) was prevented by a serious illness from presiding at evensong in the Stadium of the White City on the first day, but assistance was given, on throne or in pulpit, by the bishops of Durham (Hensley Henson, the greatest catch of all, an anti-Establishment rebel in his old age), Winchester (Cyril Garbett), St. Albans (Michael Furse, who deputized for his brother of London on that first evening), Truro (Walter Frere, c.r.), Llandaff (Timothy Rees, c.r.), Algoma (Rocksborough Smith, who served as secretary to the Church Union for a few

¹ Report of the Oxford Movement Centenary Congress, July 1933, p. v.

years after his retirement in 1940), Colombo (Mark Carpenter-Garnier), and Newcastle, N.S.W. (F. DeWitt Batty), with Roscow Sheddien, sometime bishop of Nassau.

The whole of this Congress was, in the words of the Report, 'a triumphant success,' the only discordant note being one of complaint from many of the metropolitan incumbents on both sides of the river, who disliked a programme which involved so many members of their congregations forsaking them on the Sunday morning for the greater attraction of the Pontifical High Mass at the White City. 'Admission to this great act of thanksgiving was confined to members of the Congress. About 50,000 were present—probably the largest Anglican congregation which has ever assembled for worship. The Mass was sung by the bishop of Colombo in the presence of the bishop of St. Albans, who again acted as deputy for the bishop of London. . . . The total membership of the Centenary Congress was 70,000. This showed an increase of 42,000 on the membership in 1930, and of 57,000 on that of the first congress in 1920.'²

Centenaries come and go, in some cases leaving no more than a pleasant memory, in other cases producing a lasting effect. If I am not mistaken, among the clergy there was a widespread feeling after 1933 that all had enjoyed a very fine series of commemorations, and that for the moment they had had enough, and that they were ready to go back to their parishes or missions, their colleges or monasteries, with renewed inspiration, and get down once more to the hard grind of making converts, of teaching the Faith, of carrying on and improving where possible the regular round of worship.

Unconnected save by accident with the Centenary of 1933, in that year there happened an event the results of which may well prove to be more far-reaching. The English Church Union had by this time entered upon a phase marked by the aches and pains inseparable from old age. 'Apart from the failure to find a President to follow Halifax, in recent years the younger men had been naturally gravitating towards the Anglo-Catholic Congress, an organization which was set up shortly after the war and had arranged a number of successful congresses in London. The inconvenience of two societies each claiming support, the first rely-

² *Report*, pp. viii–ix.

ing more upon its historical achievements and the second more upon its present activities, was obvious; and equally obvious to most people was the solution of an amalgamation. This was Halifax's view: On December 30th, 1932, he wrote to Athelstan Riley: "After all such a Society as the Union is not eternal and it may be that some such solution would be the obvious course."³

Greatness of stature is required of one who is to perceive *and cheerfully accept* the course of putting into voluntary liquidation—or at least of risking the virtual absorption within another body—of what has been one of the main interests of a long life. Not all the older men on the English Church Union Council could realize that the younger men and the younger organization ought to be given a free hand, and that the future of the Revival, humanly speaking, would have to be guided by a combination of the two forces. But Halifax, who had retired from the post of President of the English Church Union in 1919 at the age of eighty, and had returned to it with acclamation eight years later, though he was the oldest of the old men, was also the youngest in spirit. Whom the gods love, die young. In the case of Halifax we might well paraphrase, 'Who loves God dies young.'

In this rather sticky atmosphere of partial distrust between oldsters and youngsters a bomb burst on November 7th, 1933. Halifax, indignant at a strongly anti-Roman article which was published in the *Church Union Gazette* for that month with, by a singularly inept error of judgment, his portrait in the middle of the page, submitted the resignation of his presidency 'as a protest against the present regime.'

Acceptance of his resignation could spell nothing short of disaster for the E.C.U., and a fortnight later its Council resolved the situation by a compromise which was really a climb-down, requesting Halifax 'to appoint five members of the E.C.U., and to invite Dr. Chandler to seek powers from the A.C.C. to do likewise; and the Council hereby resolves that these, together with an independent chairman, to be appointed by Lord Halifax and Dr. Chandler, should be given plenipotentiary powers to bring into being and form one constitution for a united society, which shall be truly representative of the whole movement; and that they shall, if it seems good, invite the co-operation of the other Catholic societies.'

³ Lockhart, op. cit., pp. 365–6.

Halifax withdrew his resignation subject to the conditions of this resolution being fulfilled, and this cleared the way for the final amalgamation of that society with the Anglo-Catholic Congress organization, under the title of The Church Union. The new Society came into being on January 1st, 1934, with Lord Halifax and Bishop Arthur Chandler, sometime of Bloemfontein, as its joint presidents. Lord Halifax died on January 19th at the age of 94.

With the passing of the Grand Old Man of the revival, men felt that things could never be quite the same again. For one thing, the new Church Union could hardly count on enjoying from the first the same universal and unquestioning confidence which had been accorded to the old English Church Union: moreover the personnel of its headquarters during its first seven years was not always wisely selected. With the advent of Bishop Rocksborough Smith, sometime of Algoma, to the secretaryship in 1940, however, things took a turn for the better: and the steady useful work of the Church Union, carried on without the excessive use of the limelight (an occasional and not invariably well-chosen accompaniment of the Anglo-Catholic Congress movement) over the last twenty years, is something for which we may be thankful.

At the sixth Congress in 1948 the active episcopal participation had grown to 17; the archbishop of Brisbane, four English diocesans—London (Wand), Ely (Wynn), Newcastle (Hudson), and Oxford (Kirk)—with twelve other bishops.

SOUTH INDIA

OUT of the welter and ferment which followed the war of 1914–18 were born three children of widely differing characteristics. Two of these, Life and Liberty and the Anglo-Catholic Congress, have been considered, and we must now move to a spot in South India, by name Tranquebar. Here, in that same year of 1919, representatives of sundry nonconformist sects met to confer with the Low Church missionaries of that region, and to discuss the possibilities of some scheme by which they might all join in one body. The Lutherans and the Baptists held aloof for many years, indeed until after the actual formation of the new Church in 1947; but the other leading dissenting societies were represented—methodists, presbyterians, congregationalists, some of whom were already blended into a mixed body known as The United Church of South India. The final results of these pourparlers was the Church of South India. This is not the place to essay a complete and detailed account of this episode, and of the exact present relationships between the English Church, or other parts of the Anglican Communion, and this new Church of South India. But the time is now sufficiently far advanced for us to begin viewing it in a more historical perspective, if only after the brief span of little more than forty years. For this reason the general plan of this book will be broken, and the subject will be carried on up to 1958.

Negotiations for setting up this new body continued without undue precipitation, but as knowledge of them began to percolate into England some considerable anxiety was felt. In 1928 the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation asked the President (Archbishop Davidson) ‘“to cause to be laid before Convocation particulars concerning the proposals for reunion in South India.”’ In the following year the archbishop replied that in his judgment the negotiations had not yet reached a stage “sufficiently final to justify the Convocations sitting in judgment upon

them."¹ But by this year they had at any rate reached a stage sufficiently final to justify Bishop Gore in sounding his note of 'profound disquiet,' and by 1930 for the Lambeth Conference to give them a fairly generous blessing coupled with some advice on certain points. With a sigh the Catholics settled down to another long series of headaches, and the pens scarcely dry from correcting the mistakes of the Prayer Book revision campaign were taken up afresh to warn the English Church of danger on a new front.

In accordance with the now customary pattern, the two lines of thought were to be seen : that of uncompromising opposition, and that of what we have styled Permeationism. In this case the latter policy seems to have justified itself. But we are advancing too rapidly, and must stay to outline briefly the course of events.

In 1943 the Scheme of Union—by this time in its seventh edition—was considered by its drafters ready to be put into operation, and the English Church was officially approached by means of a letter addressed by the Metropolitan of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, inquiring what would be the attitude of their Provinces should the proposals for union in South India, by which four dioceses would leave the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon (and *a fortiori* the Anglican Communion) be carried out. The other metropolitans of the Anglican Communion were approached in the same way. Their answers appear to be in some cases still unknown. Synodical pronouncements from Scotland (1947), South Africa (1948), and the West Indies (1949), printed in Appendix II of the *Report of the Joint Committee* (1950) take a somewhat stiffer line than that eventually adopted at Canterbury and York.

Now by 1943 Davidson had been succeeded on the throne of S. Augustine by Lang, and Lang by William Temple. Rightly or wrongly, Temple was suspected by some of having visions of a vast pan-protestant, or at least non-Roman, Church, with Canterbury once more the seat of the *papa alterius orbis*. Though my personal acquaintance with William Temple was only a slight one, I am quite sure they were wrong in this suspicion. I

¹ Quoted from Merrick, op. cit., p. 182.

am inclined to believe that he was not governed by anything like future vision : his temperament was of a different kind. He was a profound thinker and scholar (though one of the pamphleteers was so idiotic as to refer to him as a 'bogus pundit'), and he was concerned far more with the inner realities and implications of problems as they presented themselves than with their ultimate external manifestations. And he was far too good a man to be swayed by any personal ambition. His limitation—in a matter of this sort—was that he possessed not only a great head but also a great heart ; and there were occasions when the heart triumphed over the head. The South India scheme was just such a one as to set his emotional side on fire ; and it is making no improper disclosure to relate that on one semi-private occasion when he found himself up against an impenetrable barrier of opposition from a Catholic group he broke down and wept.

The outburst of pamphleteering was surpassed in recent times only by that spate which accompanied the Deposited Books of 1927 and 1928. There are dozens of these pamphlets in the library at Nashdom. But I have deemed it wiser (and easier) to content myself with a rapid glance at this garner of ephemeral literature, and to base what is written here almost exclusively upon the official reports in the *Chronicle of [Canterbury] Convocation*, and the corresponding York documents. I have made it my business to read through the whole of the debate upon South India from May 1943, when they started, until May 1950, when they closed.

On May 23rd, 1943, when proceedings were opened in the Convocation of Canterbury, the precise details of the Scheme of Union were not known, war conditions providing the excuse : nor was it realized—and it is still very largely unrealized—that most of the proponents were Indians, the white element being in a minority. A comparison with the Ethiopian movement in South Africa is probably unfair ; but at least this preponderance of Indian ministers, who must have been less familiar with the ecclesiastical background in Europe, might well have been more clearly stated ; and one is tempted to think that the supporters of the Scheme were content that it should be left unmentioned. The facts are only revealed by a perusal of the names appended to such of the various documents printed and circulated in South India as found their way to England.

Archbishop Temple opened the ball with the delivery of a long, sound, diplomatic speech in Full Synod, outlining the proposals. The parts of the Scheme which caused the greatest concern to the Catholic proctors in Convocation as they listened to them—some of them for the first time—were those providing for the continuance in office and function of ministers who had not received episcopal ordination, and those permitting private interpretation of the truths of the Creed as expressed in the Nicene symbol. By way of a precaution which was probably unnecessary, possibly advisable, and certainly inoffensive, before the Lower House rose two days later it took formal but slightly ungrammatical notice of the archbishop's promise in his speech that Convocation would 'be consulted before the opinion of the Church in this Province is expressed regarding the proposed Scheme.'²

The draft of the archbishop's reply to the Metropolitan of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon was presented to Convocation in the following October. It was impossible to discuss the Scheme at that time, for copies were so scarce that there were not enough to be handed round, and the few which were available were reserved for the use of a Committee which the Lower House set up, to report at the subsequent session. Shortly after this meeting, a forcible Open Letter was addressed to the archbishop by the Superiors of the men's communities in England³ (Kelham excepted) which, backed by much speaking and writing throughout the country, caused the supporters of the Scheme in England to pick their steps with rather more circumspection than they might otherwise have done. The Dean of Winchester (Gordon Selwyn) referred to this Open Letter in the January session of Convocation, describing it as 'extremely significant and important.'⁴ From what I heard at the time, I have reason to believe that it had some considerable effect upon Temple, warning him that it was quite unsafe to play fast and loose with the conscientious convictions of a very responsible body of men, which numbered among its members many who had long and wide experience of conditions in India. Iremonger wrote that 'The

² *Chronicle of Convocation* (1945), p. 212.

³ *The Unity of the Faith: an Open Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury from the Superiors of certain Religious Communities* (November 4th, 1943).

⁴ *Chronicle*, p. 69.

opposition of the Superiors was carefully organized under the auspices of the Church Union.⁵ I can testify from inside knowledge that this statement is quite untrue and rather offensive.

Much to the disappointment of the Lower House of Convocation, the Scheme was not laid before it in January 1944 for discussion, the proctors being merely invited to offer counsel to the archbishop as to possible ways in which the draft of his answer to the Metropolitan of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon might be improved. Although the Prolocutor (D. H. S. Cranage, dean of Norwich) made strenuous efforts to prevent discussion of the actual Scheme itself, it was inevitable that it should be well examined, and its more objectionable features well exposed, in the course of the debate. Some, though not all, of the resolutions of the Lower House were adopted by Temple in his reply to the Metropolitan, which was dispatched on January 31st, 1944.

On September 26th of that year Archbishop William Temple died, greatly mourned by all who had known him. And there were few who could have regretted his untimely death at the age of 63 more keenly than the defenders and protagonists of the South India Scheme.

The first Convocation of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, who succeeded Temple at Canterbury, opened on May 15th, 1945, with a long presidential speech summing up the position of the Scheme. In the course of this speech the archbishop said, 'I am not trying to assess the merits of the Scheme or to consider the strength of the case for or against it, but simply to set out its proportions.'⁶ In this object there can be little doubt that he succeeded. The only other event in this session was a resolution, debated at length and passed on the last day in a very thin Lower House by twenty-seven votes to seventeen—"That this House respectfully urges his Grace the President to use his influence to secure the postponement of the inauguration of the proposed Church Reunion in South India until such time as it can be considered in an atmosphere free from the preoccupations resulting from the war, and at least until after the next Lambeth Conference."⁷

⁵ Op. cit., p. 592.

⁶ See page 5 of *The Scheme for Church Union in South India*, not printed in *The Chronicle of Convocation* but published as a separate pamphlet.

⁷ *Chronicle*, pp. 128-48.

The Church of South India came into existence in September 1947. On October 16th of that year the Lower House of Canterbury deemed it desirable to send a *gravamen* to the Upper House pointing out that statements about intercommunion, going beyond what had been outlined in the interim policy of 1944, were already being uttered by certain members of the Upper House. The names were not disclosed.⁸

And there the matter rested for a time, except for the activities of the pamphleteers. The Lambeth Conference met in 1948 and passed certain resolutions, some of them hardly calculated to set the anxious minds of Catholics at ease. It was disclosed later that there had been a substantial minority of bishops which was opposed to some of these resolutions,⁹ which called for recognition of and partial intercommunion with the Church of South India.

Lambeth having spoken (though not with unanimous voice), George Bell, bishop of Chichester, asked Convocation on January 13th, 1949, to appoint a Joint Committee of both Houses which, he believed, 'would help Convocation to come to a wise and harmonious decision on the great and urgent question of framing a sound Anglican policy.'¹⁰ This set the ball rolling again and the presses busy. The Joint Committee was duly set up, and combined with a similar Committee of the Convocation of York to produce a *United Report* in April 1950. Bishop Bell introduced this in Full Synod of the Convocation of Canterbury on May 24th of that year. The gist of its conclusions was that no final decision could be made, but that the position should be reviewed in five years' time; and that meanwhile limited intercommunion should be permitted under such restrictions as would prevent unordained ministers from officiating at Anglican altars. This delay of five years was a wise and shrewd suggestion; not so much from the notion—not entirely satisfactory and with no certain promise of fulfilment—that heated passions might die down in the interim, as from a statesmanlike knowledge that in five years' time the Church of South India would have had eight years of existence behind it, and that it might well be possible then to judge in which direction it was developing; whether

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁹ For some detail, see E. L. Mascall, *The Convocations and South India* (1955), p. 8, n. 1; also *Chronicle* (1950), pp. 310–11.

¹⁰ *Chronicle*, p. 11.

towards Geneva or towards Canterbury. Towards Rome was obviously too much to hope for, and the very notion would have horrified many of the good Proctors, of whom few had in remembrance the resolutions of Lambeth in 1920.

One other detail of this year deserves mention, if only because it forecasts the pattern of approach after these five years should have elapsed. Some words were quoted from memory by the dean of Windsor (Bishop E. K. C. Hamilton) in the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation on May 25th, as having been used by William Temple : ““This thing is going to happen in India, and the only question we have to decide is whether we will stand by and watch them perhaps running amok”—or words to that effect—“or whether we are going to do our best to help them.””¹¹

A brief account of the events of 1955 should form a kind of epilogue to this chapter, though not of course to the South India episode, which cannot be treated as closed until 1977 at the very earliest. And the account can be the more concise because the details of the Scheme and its implementation were by 1955 more fully and more accurately known, and much of the vague bewilderment and alarm felt in 1943 and 1945 had been replaced by settled opinions based upon ascertained facts.

The Joint Committee set up to report to the Convocations in 1955 presented its results on July 5th, by the mouth of Bishop Bell. The affair had aroused such wide interest that it was thought desirable to issue the speeches in pamphlet form without waiting for the publication of the *Chronicle*, and it is from those pamphlets, *The Convocation of Canterbury [York] and the Church of South India*, that the page references here are added. The important points were : first, that full intercommunion was not possible until 1977 (p. 3); second, that the Committee recommended that the orders conferred in the Church of South India since its formation in 1947 and under its new Ordinal should be regarded as valid (p. 5); and third, that bishops and priests of the Church of South India when in England must—to phrase it in current but inexact speech—choose between church and chapel and not wander blithely from one to the other (p. 6).

These recommendations of the Joint Committee did not arouse any great surprise among Catholics. They were much what they

¹¹ *Chronicle*, p. 323.

had expected. What did surprise them was the way in which they were supported by theologians whom they could trust, one after the other—Canon Eric Kemp, Dr. T. G. Jalland and the bishop of Exeter (Dr. Robert Mortimer), in Canterbury Convocation; and at York, Dr. Michael Ramsey, at that time bishop of Durham and presiding over Convocation during the illness of archbishop Garbett, whose place he was shortly to fill. Outside Convocation, Dr. Eric Mascall followed the debates with a powerful pamphlet of mournful justification, *The Convocation and South India*. At first sight, the action of the Lower House in accepting the resolutions of the Joint Committee was regarded by many as a tragic *volte face*. Many partisans and men of the *Resistance* who had not had time, opportunity, inclination or industry enough to study the question for themselves, were taken aback. Some were merely indignant; some few wobbled for a time in their allegiance to the chair of S. Augustine; fewer still—five or six priests, according to the only figures I have seen—left the English Church for the Roman and (so far as is known) are still there. The upheaval and split which the more pessimistic, or the more excitable, had predicted, never materialized. Why? Simply because the arguments for accepting the regrettable state of things in South India were stronger than those for rejecting them; and the technical validity of the South Indian ordinations having been admitted by theologians who were well known to have been opponents of the Scheme of Union from the very first, sensible people made up their minds to follow the lead of the experts.

Now the smooth passage of these Resolutions through the Convocations did not imply anything like a change in the opinions of English Catholics: it was no ‘selling of the pass,’ as was occasionally and hastily remarked in June 1955. To quote Dr. Mascall: ‘If we accept the “optimistic” interpretation of the decision of the Convocations this does not imply that we believe the South India approach to union to be one that ought to be imitated elsewhere or even one which ought to have been adopted in South India. I myself believe that it is a thoroughly undesirable and ambiguous approach, which ought never to have been adopted at all’ (p. 5). The Report of the Joint Committee itself speaks of the state of things which seeks to combine, for a period, ministries which are episcopal and non-episcopal in their

nature 'as an anomaly and of which it remarks upon the "unsatisfactory character." It is a poor compliment to the care with which the Joint Committee did its work if it is assumed that the refusal of the Convocations to enter into full communion with C.S.I. rested upon no ground of principles, but was merely a device to throw dust in the eyes of Anglo-Catholics. Nothing could do more than such an assumption to disintegrate the impressive unity which the Report showed, as regards the basic theological issues, or to precipitate a bitter controversy within the Church of England' (p. 16). 'I believe that those who interpret the recent decisions of Convocation as signifying a virtual abandonment of the Catholic character of the Church of England as profoundly misinformed and mistaken. But I also believe that a heavy responsibility lies upon those who have encouraged such an extreme and unbalanced movement of the Church of England towards the Protestant bodies that many intelligent and devoted priests and layfolk have felt themselves to be in a condition of acute anxiety and distress' (p. 19).

Three utterances by Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher should also be noted. They are taken from his Presidential Address to Canterbury Convocation on October 11th, 1955. (i) 'No single high ranking theologian has dissented from the actions of Convocation: on the contrary they have approved and defended them' (p. 2). (ii) 'The advice of the Lambeth Conference [1948] was that the model of the C.S.I. in what is perhaps the most significant feature should not be followed again, but there should be unification of the Ministry throughout any united church from the start. . . . Lambeth made it clear that in so far as the step C.S.I. took was on slippery ground (as indeed it was) it was not to be repeated' (p. 4). And after mentioning plans for conversations with the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Orthodox Churches he said: (iii) 'That fact may serve to remind people that we have no intention whatsoever of abandoning any true part of our Catholic heritage, that we have no inclination at all to any kind of what is called Pan-Protestantism, that we are not trying to "make terms" with Protestant denominations nor indeed to bring about in any foreseeable future reunion with any one of them in any organic body. Only extremists and alarmists and the stupid use that kind of language' (p. 6).

Two most notable things about these statements by the archbishop are these : first, that the canting nonsense of early protagonists of the Scheme, who declared it to be the will of God and the work of the Holy Spirit, must be laid aside for ever. We cannot take up the blasphemous position that the C.S.I. business was according to the will of God but that it must in no case be allowed to happen again. Second, that they mark the extent to which the Rivers of the Flood have penetrated by 1955. Not only have the low-lying areas where in suburb or in slum, in field or in factory, the rank and file have been working and worshipping, been revivified and made glad, but the tide is now lapping the heights where the Upper Houses of Convocation sit enthroned. Can we imagine Davidson, or his father-in-law Tait, committing himself to statements, in definite and unmistakable language, such as those we have just quoted? It is possible that Davidson may have felt that way at times. But it is also impossible to conceive of him as having said so, at least without the use of copious double negatives and phrases of skilful evasion and *double entendre*.

In conclusion here are three other passages from a letter written by Archbishop Fisher to the archbishop of Utrecht on February 15th, 1958, in answer to questions about the South India arrangements posed by the Old Catholic body in the Netherlands¹² :

- i. ‘The Church of South India was formed outside the Anglican Communion : but it can *never* become a member of the Anglican Communion.’
- ii. ‘The Church of England has in no wise sacrificed its Catholic principles to some “ecclesiastico-political” management. It has given its recognition only to that part of this venture of faith which is certainly Catholic. It believes that that Catholic element is already very large and will establish itself more firmly and in the end eliminate the anomaly. But if things turn out otherwise, if this Church grows less firm in its Catholic heritage, if it unduly perpetuates this anomaly or invents others, we have full freedom to readjust by further restriction or by abolition those present restricted terms of intercommunion which we have adopted.’
- iii. ‘The Anglican Communion stands unshakably on its Catholic foundations.’

¹² Printed in *Faith and Unity*, vol. v (Winter, 1959–60), no. 6, pp. 9, 11,
13.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

THE revival of Religious Communities in the English Church over the last 115 years is not something adventitious; it was bound to follow naturally in the course of events, as the dry land of the Hanoverian occupation came to be refertilized by the Rivers of the Flood. The Religious Life is not, of course, one of the Four Notes of the Church, but at times it has been almost equated with them as a quasi-essential witness to the claim of a local church to lawful and normal existence within the one universal Body. This has been particularly noticeable in some of the questions asked, and opinions expressed, by members of the Orthodox Churches of the East. They have said, as it were, 'Show us your faith by, in this respect, your works.'

One such incident is alive in my memory, trifling in itself but pointing this frame of mind. When the eminent Serbian statesman Pasitch was in England during the 1914–18 war a formal reception to meet the Minister was arranged by Athelstan Riley at his house in Kensington, to be preceded by a rather less formal dinner given under the auspices of some department or another of the University of London. Owing to the unexpected non-arrival of one of the guests I was (somewhat like one of the halt and maimed in a New Testament parable) bidden to fill up his place. I was not fetched in literally from the highways and hedges, but only from an office-desk of the Faith Press in Buckingham Street, Strand, where I was working at the time. I was garbed in a shabby cassock and altogether unfit as to cuff-links and general *tenue* for attendance at a polite function, and I prayed to be excused. However I was persuaded, if not actually compelled, to come in. The academic company at dinner was one thing, for several shirts were unboiled, but the array of diplomatic orders and sashes and clergymen in evening clothes at the reception was a different matter, and I retired into a corner hoping to escape notice. But to my surprise the high Orthodox prelates present one after another forsook their chatty partners

and came up to me with every mark of respect. One or two asked if I was 'hieromonk.' Only afterwards did it dawn upon me that they had looked upon me in my ancient soutane as the only cleric in the gathering who was properly dressed, and (if not a hieromonk, which I was not to become for another five years) the only really truly genuine specimen of an Anglican priest.

This chapter has been in some ways the easiest of all to write. That is not only because the writer thereof is inside the subject instead of being, as in the case of South India, outside it; but still more so because of what it is unnecessary to include. For the revival of the Religious Life in England has been most efficiently and abundantly described in very recent times, and it is quite pointless to repeat here what has been written, for example, by Peter Anson in *The Call of the Cloister* (1956) or Donald Allchin in *The Silent Rebellion* (1958), and in sundry other books, including some brochures issued by several Communities which have attained their centenaries in the last decade or so. And as for the details, there is the official *Guide to the Religious Communities of the Anglican Communion* which was published in 1951.

This important subject should not be bypassed with a mere reference to other authorities, despite the natural reluctance to writing up one's private 'angle,' so something must be said about what seem to have been the chief developments and the leading trends in the writer's lifetime.

Of these, the first impression that arises in his mind is that the growth of the men's communities, both in number and in size, has not lagged so far behind that of the women's communities as it did in the nineteenth century. Statistics gathered from *The Call of the Cloister* confirm this impression. One contributory cause may well have been the disappearance of difficulties in the way of obtaining ordination to the priesthood for members of religious orders and congregations. This was a novelty in 1895, when Father Andrew of the Society of the Divine Compassion was ordained in his habit. But he was ordained not under the title of 'poverty' but to that of assistant curate in the parish of S. Philip, Plaistow: and the legal fiction of a title to an adjoining

parish was kept up in the case of Nashdom until the resignation of Bishop T. B. Strong of Oxford in 1937. 'Whereas,' as Anson says, 'Father Ignatius, after remaining a deacon most of his life, decided there was no alternative but to accept priest's orders from the hands of that roving Old Catholic prelate Mar Timotheus, and Abbot Aelred Carlyle had to journey to the Middle West of the United States of America to be ordained by Bishop Grafton of Fond-du-Lac, since there was no bishop in England who dared do it, the present Abbot of Nashdom and several of the Community have been ordained by successive bishops of Oxford.'¹ And the experience of Nashdom has been paralleled by that of Mirfield and Kelham and Cerne Abbas.

This matter of ordination is only one aspect of the general change of front on the part of the episcopate towards the Religious Life. This change has been, of course, a gradual one; it has been the result of a slow alteration for the better in the sort of men who are picked by the Prime Minister and his advisers (usually archiepiscopal in these days) to occupy the diocesan sees. The Lambeth Conference of 1897 took friendly cognizance of the Religious Communities, and that of 1948 went a stage further when it urged 'clergy, teachers and parents to seek for and encourage among young people vocations to Holy Orders, to the Teaching Ministry, to Religious Communities, and to other forms of full-time service to the Church.'² Anson's comment on this runs: 'Although the bishops of the Anglican Communion throughout the world now think it desirable to encourage vocations to the Religious Life as a form of "full-time service to the Church," it is not so certain that all of them regard the Religious State as anything more than a means of doing active work. Nevertheless it is very remarkable that the Church of England should have given its official recognition to the Religious Life when one recalls how bishops of the last century refused to admit that it had any status in Anglicanism.'³

Incidentally, this refusal was continued until about 1930 in the case of Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil, bishop of Exeter. Nor are the Anglican bishops any whit less ready than their Roman

¹ *The Call of the Cloister*, p. 189.

² Resolution No. 38: Anson, op. cit., p. 482.

³ Op. cit., p. 485.

brethren to benefit by the services of inexpensive curates in their dioceses.

The year 1930 did however mark a definite stage in this gradual progress. On the initiative of the bishops a conference was arranged to consider their proposed Regulations for Religious Communities. It met at Keble College, Oxford, in July of that year under the chairmanship of Dr. B. J. Kidd, Warden of the College, and was attended by two members each from some fifty or sixty Communities, together with many wardens and chaplains of sisterhoods. Abbot Denys Prideaux was unwell at the time, and I was deputed to accompany Dom Martin Collett, who succeeded Abbot Denys four and a half years later, as one of the representatives from Nashdom. Bishop Walter Frere, who had been Superior of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield from 1902 to 1922, except for a gap of three years, was on the chairman's right hand as representing the episcopate, on whose behalf there was presented the list of the suggested Regulations. Their nature was such that it is hard to believe that Frere could have had much of a hand in their drafting. Many of them displayed a considerable lack of understanding of the fundamental principles of the Religious State, of the Constitutions of existing Communities, and of the current conditions and temper in which the proposals were likely to be received. As far as I can recollect these propositions in detail, the existing rites of all chapels in Community houses were to be replaced by those of the Book of Common Prayer (which makes no provision whatsoever for anything except cathedrals, colleges and parish churches); vows were to be not irrevocable but dispensable in all cases; and all property was to be transferred to the ownership of some central body controlled either by the bishops or by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

It was not so long before the Conference, which had opened in a very meek and submissive atmosphere, realized that the programme as a whole was not intended or designed for the benefit of the Religious Life, but only for its regimentation. This is precisely on all fours with the mistaken policy which resulted in the ignominious end of the Prayer Book Revision efforts of 1927 and 1928. Not yet had the bishops learnt that lesson, which

most of their successors now recite as a matter of course.

The 1930 proposals were found on examination by the members of the Conference to be unacceptable and even impossible. Among other difficulties which had not been foreseen at Lambeth it was disclosed that the property of certain Communities had been carefully tied up by their founders in Trust Deeds which explicitly stated that in no circumstances might the bishops acquire or exercise control over buildings, lands or investments. This had been, of course, a wise and even necessary provision in the nineteenth century. As the Conference went on, the bishops' proposals were negatived one after another : but it was decided very sensibly to save one portion which looked as if it might (after a little carpentry) prove valuable, this being the suggestion of an Advisory Council on Religious Communities, half to be nominated by the bishops and half elected by the Communities. This body was finally erected in 1935 and has functioned in a very satisfactory and useful manner since that date.⁴

A further development seen in the twentieth century is the definite trend towards the contemplative and mixed forms of the Religious Life, and away from the active. 'The general tendency in recent years has been to give up active works of mercy and charity, and to adopt a more claustral form of life. About half a dozen enclosed and contemplative communities of women have been founded, including two which have adopted the Cistercian observances. . . . More and more communities appear to be replacing their original Rules with that of S. Benedict, but each interpreting it to suit the particular nature of the work undertaken'⁵—which is just precisely what S. Benedict would have wished. One reason for this trend away from active works is, of course, the fact that so much in the way of nursing, education and other social service is now carried on by the State, whereas in the mid-Victorian era it was either handled by private enterprises of charity or left undone. A second reason is that the founders of the earliest sisterhoods had to contend with an appalling degree of ignorant prejudice from the press, the bishops

⁴ Cf. Anson, op. cit., pp. 482-5. Mr. Anson informs me that his information was not supplied by an actual participant in the 1930 conference; and I doubt whether any actual record has been preserved elsewhere, except for the purely formal minutes which should be at Lambeth.

⁵ Anson, op. cit., p. 479.

and the general public; and they rightly decided that it would be politic to recommend their existence to the English Church by demonstrating their usefulness. The heroic efforts of the first sisterhoods in the cholera epidemics of the mid-nineteenth century resulted in a very notable change in public estimation. In the present age, the justification of these active works is no longer needed to the same extent, and Mr. Anson's remarks just quoted might be amplified by saying that several of the women's communities have revised their original Rules and Constitutions during the last few decades with a greater emphasis upon contemplation or enclosure or both.

HIGHWAYS AND HEDGES

ANY account of the Catholic Revival in the English Church, whether of the nineteenth or of the twentieth century, which omitted all reference to those various movements comprehended generally under the name of Social Reform, would be woefully incomplete. In its very earliest days we find that one to whom the title of Head Boy of the Back Room might justly be applied—Edward Bouverie Pusey himself—had for one of his main interests from 1839 onwards the slum parish and church of S. Saviour's, Leeds: and at the same period the Devonport sisters were at work in the midst of great squalor.¹ Meanwhile Charles Lowder was setting a pattern at S. Peter's, London Docks, which was to be followed, and is being followed still, by many another devoted priest in London and in the great manufacturing towns of the North and Midlands.

These were the priests: what of the prophets? Now men such as F. D. Maurice, Arnold, Kingsley and Stewart Headlam are always referred to by subsequent writers and workers in the sociological field as the sources of their inspiration. But the slum priests, if they had even heard of these prophets or had read their writings, would most certainly have denied with vigour any suggestion that the source of their inspiration could be found elsewhere than in the four Gospels: and many of them, if catechized upon the intellectual basis of their practical efforts, would have replied shortly to the effect that they had neither spare cash to buy the books nor spare time to read them. Indeed, the distinction between priest and prophet seems to be, in the realm of sociology, just as clearly marked in the Catholic Revival as it is in the Old Testament. And after all, the functions of Zadok and of Nathan are distinct; so why should we complain if we do not find the qualifications of these two united in the person of one individual?

¹ Cf. T. J. Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Seddon* (1950).

In these matters economic I can lay no sort of claim to the title of prophet, and only just, because I happen to be one, to that of priest. The plain truth is that I (for reasons not so convincing as those of the slum pastor) have no first-hand knowledge of theoretical sociology, having had no contact with it for more than fifty years, since those far-off days when I tramped about Bethnal Green, Mile End and Whitechapel while resident at the Oxford House, snooping on behalf of the Charity Organization Society. But in saying that I know nothing about theoretical sociology I do not mean for an instant to imply that I care nothing, and that I do not appreciate its importance; nor to deny that the underdog's interests are most effectively served by groups of men and women who can interchange their ideas and their information, and so gain from their mutual association a greatly needed stimulus in the face of such frequent discouragement as can only be felt by one who, like the writer, has undergone the experience of plodding for hours through the wet cold streets of Walworth or East London with no perceptible result. (Though at least the wet cold streets of fifty years back smelt better, or more accurately not so bad, as when they were dry and hot; but they were more depressing.)

Yet for some reason, connected perhaps unconsciously with my adventures on behalf of the Charity Organization Society in the year 1908, I have always fought shy of the 'Social Reform' societies and guilds, especially when they showed signs of a leftish tendency in politics. It seemed to me that from the Catholic's point of view the work done under the galaxy of names borne in the last century by such men as Lowder, Dolling, Stanton, S. Faithorn Green, Le Couteur, Tooth, Pollock, Preedy, Burn, Ommanney, Edghill, Wainwright, Kingdon, Jellicoe, Raven, Bartlett (to bring the tale down to the present day) had greater value than that represented by the multifarious societies that have appeared and disappeared in the last eighty years. And now I may be seeming to sneer at the organized bodies again, which the last paragraph implied I was not going to do: and it will be advisable to modulate into a more serious key, as befits the subject.

Can the Catholic Revival claim to have pioneered in the

social reforms of the present century, as the Evangelical movement did in the abolition of slavery and prison reform? A definite answer is not easy, because in the course of history it very seldom happens that we can find cause and effect so closely and so unmistakably woven together that we can be really safe from the danger of over-simplification. There are certain advances in the spheres both of social reform and of foreign missionary enterprise which might be reckoned quite clearly as legitimate children of the Catholic Revival; but it would also be possible to present a substantial claim on behalf of altogether different paternities, some of them being movements which were still alive, though dying, in the nineteenth century. We can, if we so desire, attribute the enormous expansion of home and foreign missions of all kinds to the successors of Dr. Bray's Associates; or to the moribund evangelical movement; or to natural causes which would have operated anyhow; or even to the advent of Albert the Good and the Great Exhibition of 1851. But it will still remain as an obvious and demonstrable fact that from the earliest days of the Tractarians they and their successors were always to be found fighting in the front line whenever some effort had been initiated by which the Church's spiritual treasures could be made available to the heathen at home or abroad, or the material benefits of this life more equitably shared with the poor and the downtrodden.

Whatever the Tractarian leaders said or wrote—and there is abundant evidence in print—about the essential duty of the Church to care for the needs of the whole man, body as well as soul, would have remained sterile and open to the charge of a chilly insincerity had it not borne fruit in actual life. Pusey is remembered not only at Oxford and (in connection with the Religious Life) at Ascot, but also at S. Saviour's, Leeds. The work of the first sisterhoods in the cholera visitations, which was touched upon in the previous chapter, was another example of this fructification. C. F. Lowder's *Twenty-one Years in S. George's Mission*, and R. R. Dolling's *Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum* will tell the tale for what has been called unjustly and unkindly 'The London, Brighton and South Coast Religion.' And for every parish that has found its chronicler there are scores in which the work of devoted priests and lay workers has flowered, and has borne seed—to germinate often in middle-class

suburbs or in the Colonies—and has passed away unrecorded save in memory.

But the efforts of more or less isolated individuals, gallant and at times sensational as they were, were not enough to satisfy the specialists who were making serious studies of social problems. And therefore, in accordance with the pattern of Victorian life, guilds and societies sprang into being, where propaganda might be discussed and formulated and disseminated. The earliest of these dates from 1877: this was the Guild of S. Matthew, founded by Stewart Headlam as a Catholic and Socialist institution. Direct alliance between individuals or groups of Catholics and those bodies which hold positions with a dogmatic economic view to be described broadly under the title of ‘socialism’ has never enjoyed a universal degree of support throughout the movement, and the kaleidoscopic vicissitudes of their mutations have borne witness to a general sense of unease at an identification, however well-intentioned, of churchmen as such with any one political party. ‘The history of the Church Socialist League, from our point of view, is curious. It was formed in reaction from the idiosyncrasies of the Guild of S. Matthew on the one hand, and the compromises of the Christian Social Union on the other, at another critical moment of the Socialist Movement, that of the formation of the Labour Party in 1906. It accepted the Socialist dogma; on the other hand, it refused to “narrow itself” by acceptance of what have been called “specifically Catholic” dogmas. It was designed to be as comprehensive, on the Christian side, as the Church of England. This basis worked satisfactorily so long as the thing of urgent importance was felt to be the attempt to range the Church upon the side of the Socialist claim for justice to the disinherited, and for a humane social order to replace the existing competitive regime. . . . But as Socialism passed from being an ideal to be preached to becoming the programme of a political party, the Catholic element in the Church Socialist League (and it may be claimed without fear of contradiction that it was the leading element) became increasingly uneasy. First Conrad Noel broke away and founded the Catholic Crusade. The reference to the Catholic Faith was formally incorporated in the Basis of the League, at the cost

of the loss of an important part of the membership. Finally, the volume *The Return of Christendom*, published by what may be regarded as the dominant group in the League, declared for "the return of dogma" and "the necessity of Catholic dogma"; whereupon, under the leadership of the Revd. P. E. T. Widdrington, the Church Socialist League was reorganized as the League of the Kingdom of God.²

We might sum up therefore by saying that in the early years of this century Catholics could be roughly classified under two heads—those who took a lively interest in social problems and desired to take their share in active projects for their remedial solution, and those who thought that their duty lay rather in applying the principles of evangelical charity directly to the work under their hand and to the souls under their care, and in leaving politics to politicians. Beyond these, on either extreme flank, would be found in one direction (as in all movements) the fanatics, and in the other direction those who 'couldn't care less': these latter, if pressed, would be found to disclose—hidden well below the surface, in the best English tradition—some qualities of compassion and benevolence. But the 'no politics in the pulpit' group was and is numerous and weighty. 'Headlam's fusion of Maurician theology with Catholic sacramentalism had, for understandable reasons, met with but little welcome or understanding in the Anglo-Catholic movement, which, despite the heroic work of its slum priests, had never wakened to the implications and the responsibilities of its heritage of social teaching.'³

A perusal of some of the representative literature of the time leaves one with the feeling that much of the Church Socialist League and Christian Social Union gospel, if true for its time, is now out of date. We live (though there are some who dislike the term, if not such conveniences as it provides) in a Welfare State; but whether this is anything like what Shuttleworth and Hancock and Headlam would have designed for us is another question, which could only be answered satisfactorily by an acknowledged expert. It has also been remarked in my hearing that whereas Elizabeth Fry, and Shaftesbury, and Wilberforce, and Howard

² Ruth Kenyon, 'The Social Aspect of the Catholic Revival,' in *Northern Catholicism* (1933), pp. 392-3.

³ Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple* (1947), p. 169.

are remembered for their successful efforts against the social abuses of their times, many of the leaders in the Christian and Catholic Social movements of the last century—Westcott, Gore, Scott Holland, Marson, William Temple, are remembered for quite other things. Exactly why this is so it is hard to say. It would not be fair to say that it is because they did not succeed so patently as Howard and the others named above. Is it perhaps because the Social movement is, after all, not in the centre of the Catholic Revival but merely an adventitious expression of one among its many vocations?

The magnificent and famous speech of Frank Weston, bishop of Zanzibar, at the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1923, was very nearly, though not quite, epoch-making. Had he not died unexpectedly in the following year at the age of 53, and (it must be said frankly) had the direction of the Anglo-Catholic Congress organization in the next decade been in other hands, who can say what the results might have been? In relation to our immediate subject, his speech on that occasion contained a stirring passage with this trumpet-call: ‘You have your Mass, you have your altars, you have begun to get your tabernacles. Now go out into the highways and hedges, and look for Jesus in the ragged and the naked, in the oppressed and the sweated, in those who have lost hope, and in those who are struggling to make good. Look for Jesus in them; and when you have found Him, gird yourself with His towel of fellowship and wash His feet in the person of His brethren.’⁴

These fine words have suggested a title for this chapter; and they have been very often quoted since that day in the Albert Hall, sometimes by speakers or writers not very friendly to the Catholic Revival. A churchman from the Antipodes, reading some of the published literature, or the *Church Times*’ correspondence columns, in the years after Frank Weston’s speech, might be pardoned if he gathered that by 1923 the Catholic clergy and other workers had left the slums and were now to be found congregated in the West End of London and in the seaside towns. This would be a totally false assumption. The West End clergy-

⁴ Quoted from H. Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar* (1926), p. 302.

men did perhaps take a larger share than their brethren of the East End and of the equally poor and usually ignored Inner South London in organizing the Anglo-Catholic Congresses (which incidentally were first mooted at Hoxton) but then they had rather more time to spare. Frank Weston can hardly have thought that he needed to recall the Catholic clergy from the tea-tables of upper- and middle-class drawing-rooms to their duty of caring for the common people, and to the slums which they had never left : he knew the facts far too well to suppose anything of the sort.

In fact, one priest found his particular huddle of slums so intolerable that he lost all patience ; and in 1924 Basil Jellicoe attacked his local problem in a practical and business-like way by founding the St. Pancras Housing Association Limited, borrowing money at a low rate of interest so that the shareholders could participate in the merits of the work without the reproach of a fat dividend, then acquiring and destroying the rat-infested tenements of Somers Town, and constructing in their place something more like ideal homes. Attempts in this direction had been made before, but not in such close connection with the Church. The earliest, and probably—owing to lack of experience—the least satisfactory, were the Peabody Buildings in Bethnal Green, Westminster, and elsewhere ; well-intentioned, well-constructed, ill-designed and depressing barracks which nobody wishes to copy nowadays. And twenty years or more before the time of Jellicoe, both the much-maligned Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the controllers of the Prince of Wales' Estates in Kennington, Lambeth and Walworth had produced some very satisfactory small blocks of flats for poor people. Having lived in two of them I can bear witness. But Jellicoe's plan was more definitely a part of the Catholic movement ; it was designed and intended to be taken up elsewhere than in Somers Town, and it was followed in at least seven other places.⁵

In the ears of some, the words ‘Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all nations,’ or ‘Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these my brethren,’ have sounded with an overwhelming force : whereas to others, and with no less in-

⁵ See *Church Observer* No. viii (April 1960), p. 18.

sistence, have come the reminders; 'Man, who made me a judge and divider over you?' and 'My kingdom is not of this world.' These latter have believed that Jerusalem cometh down from heaven as a bride adorned to meet her husband, not that she is to be built in England's green and pleasant land. They have also in mind the word 'When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren,' which is a quotation applying in their minds even more than the others to the Anglo-Catholic share—in so far as it may have been deficient—in the social reforms of the past century. Not a few have been convinced that the English Church must first purge out from herself the last taint of continental protestantism and of indigenous and insular puritanism (Lutherans, Calvinists, Zwinglians and Anabaptists were very far from being puritans) before it can hope to carry out effectively the wider command to penetrate the whole of human society with the life-bringing truths of the Kingdom of Christ and of His saints: but they have not, except in rare cases, ventured to go so far as saying that the others, the 'organized reformers,' are on the wrong tack when they address themselves more directly to the wider front of social conditions, whether in the aspect of justice between employer and employed, or of housing, or of poor-law reform, or of pensions, or of any other field in which the under-dog appears to be having an undeservedly rough deal.⁶

In this twentieth century we have seen a remarkable growth in the distinction which is drawn between the GP (general practitioner) and the specialist. These terms have been borrowed from the medical profession because the distinction has become more noticeable in medicine than elsewhere, doubtless due in part to developments resulting from the National Health Acts. But all the learned professions, as much as or even more than the industrial occupations, have been permeated by this growing divagation. In the Law, by exception, the distinction between barrister and solicitor has been clearly marked for more than six hundred years; but barristers themselves specialize in certain classes of jurisprudence. In the ministry of the Church, for-

⁶ A recent estimate of the present position is given in an article by Ronald Preston, 'The Christian Left still Lost,' in *Theology*, lxiii (April 1960), p. 133.

tunately, there is no difficulty if a priest wishes to move from parochial (i.e. the GP type) work to something of a specialist kind with some Church society, or to something of the HQ type, such as a post as a bishop's chaplain, a cathedral officer, or a don. And do we not hear from time to time that Father X or Canon Y has decided that it is about time he changed his work and went back to a parish? This interchange between specialist and front-line worker is of immense advantage to the Church, if only because it delays the time, which may yet come upon us, when all our vocations are so highly specialized that nobody will know the slightest thing about anything outside the narrow, and still contracting, limits of his own particular job. The specializing tendency does exist, and it is growing: the polymath is extinct, the autodidact increasingly rare. There are some among the clergy, and some among the laity, who know a good deal about sociology: and there are others (including the writer) who know but little, just because they have been either too busy as GPs to see beyond the borders of their parishes, or because they too have been specializing, but in other directions. And what is true of the clergy is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the laity.

The problem set up by this state of things, which poses the question, 'Is sociology a duty binding on all Catholics or only on some?' has long been recognized. Whether it will ever be solved remains to be seen. Of the 1932 Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology at Oxford it was written, 'It cannot be said that either the leaders of the Catholic movement have as a whole shown such personal interest in, or that the rank and file have given such attention to, what has been attempted at Oxford as would manifest a genuine conviction that an authentic aspect of religion was being debated there. This fact, for a fact it is, may be partly accounted for indeed by the feeling that a certain specialism is inevitable in Christian effort. We cannot all be theologians, ecclesiastical historians or direct co-operators in the work of the mission field. We have not the time, even when we can assure ourselves that we have the ability.'⁷

'A century ago Pusey (no mere social "activist") said in a notable phrase that the Church must always struggle to "ensoul

⁷ Maurice Reckitt in *Christendom*, vol. ii (1932), p. 84.

civilization." This does not imply any theocratic claim: the autonomy of the secular has to be respected. But the Church in every generation must be alert and informed enough to be aware of what secular authorities are aiming at, and bring its judgment to bear upon that.'⁸

⁸ This last paragraph is taken with permission from one of Mr. Reckitt's letters to the author.

THE ARTS IN GENERAL: AND MUSIC IN PARTICULAR

IT is plainly futile to suppose that any phase of social human existence could be adequately described without some reference to the arts. Far too many books on historical subjects in our time completely ignore music, whereas music is an integral part of social, intellectual and religious life: and though some little knowledge of the subject may be necessary before beginning to write about it, it is surely wrong to omit music altogether just because the writer may not happen to be a specialist. Here is but one more example of that mischief of over-specialization which was hinted at in our last chapter. At the other end of the scale come the eminent speakers who, before starting a *pronunziamento* upon church music, protest (as Archbishop Lang did at the opening of S. Nicolas's College, Chislehurst, in July 1929) that they know nothing about the subject, and then proceed to demonstrate the accuracy of their disclaimer. As for the Catholic Revival, it is quite true that the Tractarians found it necessary to concentrate their efforts more on the exposition of the first and third of the Divine Attributes than upon the second: but they knew full well that God is absolute Beauty as well as absolute Truth and absolute Goodness. These matters, however, they left to other hands as a rule.

The subject of Church architecture is totally inseparable from any attempt to picture the Oxford movement.¹ Its lines were generally settled during the second half of the nineteenth century, and by the 1890s some degree of finality seemed to have been reached. Splendid modern Gothic churches were already in existence here and there, the work of such architects as Gilbert

¹ In the plentiful literature on the subject, Basil F. L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century* (1938) can be recommended for the churches: and for their contents, Peter F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (1960).

Scott, or Bodley, or Temple Moore, or Street; and occasionally a church of more classical design, such as The Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, by J. D. Sedding. Mistakes which had been made by following too indiscriminately the well-intentioned but sometimes amateurish zeal of the Cambridge Camden Society, or the enthusiasm of that most interesting figure Augustus Welby Pugin, had already begun to be corrected, although the restless dazzle of incessant sacred monograms and other ecclesiastical fripperies still disfigures many places to such an extent that the devout worshipper, incautiously raising his eyes from the cold and shiny glaze of the encaustic and quasi-heraldic tiles to stencilled east wall or crocketted design of stained-glass, is fain to shut them.

Not all churches were Gothic or even Renaissance in style. Some were hybrid and mongrel mixtures; and some were Romanesque, but not many. Of one of these, The Ascension, Lavender Hill, Battersea, I have a vivid early memory in the 1890s, with its stately procession appearing out of the semi-darkness of the apsidal ambulatory behind the high altar. Truly the Victorian architects knew how to lay down their lines, even if Butterfield, one of their most popular and successful experts, carried the over-decorative system of unceasing patterns into the very bricks and mortar of his buildings.

Our own period, 1900–60, will long be famous for the work of Sir Ninian Comper, and of lesser men inspired by him. As *The Times* said after his death in 1960 at the age of 95, ‘He built and wrought under the compulsion of a deep spiritual insight.’ Coventry Cathedral and other attempts to apply ‘modern’ styles of architecture will be out of date by the time this book reaches a second edition, if ever. One question might be permitted; to enquire why, if all that is Belgian or French in vesture and ceremonial is to be howled down as exotic or ‘disloyal,’ the ultra-modern types of church building, which began in Belgium after the 1914–18 war, may now be copied and receive a chorus of applause from the most respectable and maternal Anglican authorities.

The plastic arts—painting, sculpture, stained glass, wood-carving, metal-work—together with campanology and iconography, can hardly be dealt with here except at the risk of

expanding this chapter far beyond its permitted length. But one word of rejoicing must find utterance, to celebrate the steady disappearance of the lacquered brass flower-vase on the altar and similar horrors of the Church furnishing shops.

Music is, however, of far greater moment. It was long before my ordination in 1912 that I began to realize its vast importance, and the great influence of music in drawing people to church—or sometimes in keeping them away or driving them elsewhere. How often, in those far-off days, when nearly all respectable people went to some place of worship on Sunday, did one hear the words 'I go to S. So-and-so's, not because of the preaching, which is not particularly good, but because of the music'? And for what reasons did the speakers select their favourite place of worship? Sometimes it would be because the choir was well-trained and the music of an operatic type to which they could sit (or very often stand, in those stiffish formal days) and listen: sometimes it would be because there was good hearty congregational singing in which they could join: but most frequently because there was a very sensible blend of both types. With the rise of 'specialist' bodies formed to promote this or that particular type of music, beginning with the Gregorian Association in 1874 and the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society in 1888, and continuing with various societies down to the formation of the very broadly based but none-the-less 'generally Anglican' Royal School of English Church Music in 1927, the scene has altered considerably, the propaganda of the various groups having been greatly affected and often reinforced by the effect of two wars upon the composition of our choirs. And though there are many churches where this good blending is still maintained, they are not so numerous. Often there is found the will to provide music which shall be at the same time—or rather on the same occasion—both a worthy offering of the best art and the best execution in the worship of God, and a hearty unanimous burst of sound which in many cases could be perhaps most accurately described in the words of Miles Coverdale as 'a cheerful noise.' Yet even the raucous untrained shouts of an energetic congregation, such as I heard not so long ago in a small church at Kinlochleven in the Western Highlands, can inexplicably stamp themselves on the

mind—so long as they are, as they were on that occasion, neither out of time nor off key—as true music of a very high order.

Of the changes that have taken place in the sphere of Church Music during the last sixty years, the most far-reaching on the whole has been the disappearance of the boy choirs in numerous places and, in many cases, the abandonment of anything but unison singing by such choirs as have replaced them, if any. The change is less cataclysmic than might at first sight appear, for the 'imitation Cathedral' choir in cassock and surplice had a bare half-century of tradition behind it in the average church. But in strict chronological sequence, the change in musical taste which was either caused by or answered to by the publication of the new hymnbooks in 1904 and 1906, and the reformed Anglican-chant psalters, comes first.

Two years ago I wrote something about the reform of the psalters,² and it will not be necessary to say much about it here. Its impact upon the worship of the Catholic Revival has been greater than might have been anticipated. In the earlier part of this century a church which did not use the plainsong tones for the psalms at Sunday evensong would have been considered not quite worthy to be ranked as true blue Catholic. But nowadays it is hardly thought to matter. The reform of Anglican psalter pointing, and the consequent disappearance of the worst of the text-mangling which perforce accompanied the old *Cathedral Psalter*, means that the scandal is removed; and the Anglican chant is no longer necessarily a disgrace and an offence in the ears of those who wish to hear the choral office performed with the degree of dignity which befits the worship of God. So that the retention, or even the introduction, of 'Anglicans' helps towards a solution of difficulties in the way of gathering a choir together: or, if the people prefer it that way and will attend in larger numbers on Sunday evenings, then (the feeling is) by all means let us use the Anglican chants. Such is the position to-day in many parish churches, though by no means in all.

As to the cathedrals, they have—with certain exceptions, of which Salisbury was reported to have been the latest in coming

² *Septuagesima* (Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1959), pp. 65–6.

into line and surrendering the old *Cathedral Psalter* pointing—led the way in this reform of Anglican chanting, which began under Madeley Richardson at Southwark Cathedral some time before 1908. And the cathedral rendering of plainsong for the psalms, which is used in most cathedrals for such occasions as the boys' weekly half-holiday, is real plainsong and not the dreadful style unkindly and unjustly labelled with the name of the great pioneer Thomas Helmore, and current at the beginning of the century.

This 'Hellmost Helmore,' as it was sometimes unkindly called, was no true plainsong, but a kind of bastard unison Anglican chant; though the contour of the melody, sung in strict four-beat bars, was that of the Gregorian tone which it was supposed to represent. Even the London Gregorian Choral Association used it for their annual services in S. Paul's Cathedral up to about 1910, in which year a thorough reform was carried through with great gallantry. On that occasion its name was changed to The Gregorian Association, and under the leadership of Francis Burgess a series of yearly festivals was inaugurated which, while incorporating the best examples of sixteenth century and some modern polyphony, has continued to furnish fine models for a plainsong festival evensong, and to provide both instruction and encouragement for the large number of choirs in the Home Counties which are affiliated to the Association.

In addition to the reform of the Anglican pointing, there is perhaps another reason for the diminution in the number of the churches which use plainsong for the psalms; namely that there is in these days a better supply of that common sense which declines to erect 'The Gregorian Tones,' so well-beloved of the post-Tractarians, into an Anglo-Catholic fetish similar to some other extinct cults; of which there are several examples. For instance, there were the seven red lamps, hanging before an empty (or no) tabernacle on the high altar; or the Litany Desk set in a most inconvenient spot just where all the traffic crosses in front of the chancel screen, often covered with a frontal of the colour of the season—a hue which was reflected also in the bookmarkers of the Bible on the Lectern (which came to be heartlessly known as the 'Coloured Stoles for the Bird') and even in the almsbags which in nearly every place ousted the 'decent basons' of the rubric.

Before leaving the subject of the psalter, however, there is one most grave and serious loss to record; one which, if it is not recovered, will result in grievous harm to the liturgical and devotional distinction of the Catholic Revival. For the course of psalmody so carefully planned in the Book of Common Prayer, by which the entire psalter was to be gone through in each month, seems to have vanished entirely in most places; except for its private recitation by those priests and deacons who use that book for their daily Office, which is not the same thing as the public worship of the faithful. This retrograde step has, we sincerely trust, not been taken in the cathedrals. But even in the cathedral choirs—as it has more than once been asserted to the writer, who has no means of checking the accuracy of the statement except by extended travel—to hear the daily service sung regularly morning and evening throughout the week without intermission for the boys' half-holidays and so on, it is necessary to leave these shores and to journey to the Irish Free State, where S. Patrick's National Cathedral in Dublin keeps the flag flying in solitary splendour. It is devoutly to be hoped that this statement, if accurate as regards the immediate post-war years, will by this time need correction. For if the cathedral bodies are unable to perform more than a partial and intermittent rendering of their primary duty, that of the daily sung office, it is not so easy to blame, or to reform, parochial church authorities who content themselves with one nice short psalm at Evening Prayer on Sundays. They seem to be oblivious to or even ignorant of the fact that the psalmody is the essential part of the Divine Office, and that everything else is in reality no more than trimmings, consisting of accretions which have attached themselves to the psalter one by one during the centuries; from the Gospel Canticles at Lauds and Vespers in early days, down through the tale of Collects and Scripture Lessons and Responds, Office Hymns, *Capitula* or what we know in their modern survival as Versicles and Responses, to the relatively recent penitential preliminaries of Cranmer in 1552, and the State Prayers, and the curious conglomeration of ineptitudes to be appended to the office in the proposed book of 1928. I cannot resist the temptation of telling here how a few years ago I listened with the greatest delight to a certain archdeacon (since justly promoted to a suffragan bishop-

ric) addressing the congregation of S. Agnes' church in Hove—I disclose the name with no sense of violating the proprieties, for the utmost degree of publicity is meet where such things occur—and after ascending into the pulpit, beginning as follows : 'Before I start my sermon proper, I should like to say a word of congratulation to your parish priest and yourselves for having had Evensong to-night, instead of having just bits and pieces of Even-song, as happens in most of the churches I go to.'

While speaking about Evensong, it might be mentioned that another feature of that service in the average parish church has almost entirely disappeared in the past half-century; and that is the Setting for the Canticles. Now I believe that this change, unlike that which has taken place with the psalter, has been caused principally by extraneous influences, such as the impact of two wars upon the personnel of our choirs and the change in their balance from four-part to something rather variable, very often strong in contralto as their predecessors were weak in alto voices, and weak in their basses as their predecessors were strong or even clamant. In many places where a 'cathedral setting' or its parochial equivalent was almost invariable except perhaps in Advent and Lent, it is now unknown and has been replaced by chants. Some will say that this is an improvement, and from the non-objective point of view I suppose that it is; provided, that is, that congregational singing has replaced the older choir performance of *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*. But it must be admitted frankly that the amount of congregational singing is no more than it was fifty years ago, and is probably much less. This is due partly to the facts that attendance at evensong is thinner, and that the atmosphere of a small congregation in a half-empty nave is not conducive to helping the fainthearted towards plucking up courage enough to let themselves be heard; though I could mention many places which are honourable exceptions. Others, perhaps, might desire that in other places the fainthearted would be even fainter. It is all a matter of taste, *de quo non est disputandum*, and there is at least no good reason for erecting congregational singing—no bad thing in its own way—into yet one more fetish to take its place alongside the Seven Red Lamps and the coloured almsbags.

In Anglican hymnody the scene had been dominated from 1875 onwards by *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. 'By 1895, 10,340 churches in England alone were using the collection, besides the entire British Army and Navy.'³ To a greater extent than was often realized by the ten thousand congregations that used it, *A. & M.* (as we shall refer to it from now on) was essentially an 'Anglo-Catholic' book. The chief 'minority' collections then in use were the *Hymnal Companion* (Low Church) and *Church Hymns* (Moderate). But *A. & M.* was still increasing in popularity at the end of the century, its only rivals in the Catholic region being Thomas Helmore's ancient *Hymnal Noted* of 1852, and Dr. Littledale's *People's Hymnal*, both relatively small in circulation.

The doctrinal influence of *A. & M.* must have been enormous. Hymns, on account of their rhyme, and of the regularity of their metre, and their musical background, are far more easily retained in the memory than are prose texts, and many quotations from *A. & M.* have usurped the place of the Sacred Scriptures in the minds of the uneducated, for example 'Peace, perfect peace': and phrases of this kind are to be found engraved not only on their hearts but also on their tombstones. Of this fact the original compilers of *A. & M.* in 1859, and its revisers in 1875, consciously or unwittingly took full advantage. The eucharistic, sacramental and evangelistic teaching of the book was clear and definite, but its eschatology was uncertain. This latter flaw reflected the woolly vagueness distinctive of many leading Anglican theologians in the last century, and faithfully reproduces the Victorian invention of an intermediate state which is not Purgatory and is certainly not (as it is claimed to be in some hymns) Paradise; which is the final, eternal unveiled presence of God.

In 1889 a supplement to *A. & M.* was added to the 1875 edition, which contained many fine examples of hymns and hymn tunes. The tune, by the way, has usually been found of greater importance than the words, when we are dealing with matters of acceptance, popularity, retention in the memory, and so on. Many of the best gems in this Supplement have never

³ Winfred Douglas, *Church Music in History and Practice* (New York, 1937), p. 254. The preface to the revised edition of *Hymns A. & M.* in 1950 says that 'the old book . . . has continued to be the most widely used Hymnal of the Church of England.'

attained to the place which they deserve in the permanent repertoire of English hymn singing. This 1875–89 full edition is the classical book for Anglican hymnody, and is the source of some things which a future century may come to describe as ‘religious folksongs of the period,’ one of which—‘Erbide with me’—is used as the Office Hymn at football cup-ties, while another—‘Eternal Father, strong to save’—much beloved for the saccharine semi-tones of its tune (*‘Melita’*) is sung at 11 a.m. on all our ocean liners in the first-class saloon, quite regardless of the state of the weather.

In the first years of the present century two separate groups were busily engaged in the task of preparing new hymnals which should no longer offend the cultured ears of those who wished to slough off their Victorianism. These two Edwardian hymnals were the *Revised A. & M.* of 1904, and the *English Hymnal (E.H.)* of 1906. Controversies broke out upon the appearance of *A. & M. 1904*, and spread to the daily press. Very typical was the storm which raged around the herald angels at Christmas, who had to disappear in favour of the original line, ‘Hark, how all the welkin rings!’ The book, nevertheless, continues to receive a verdict from critics of ‘The best book yet produced, and a thousand pities that it did not take on.’ Bishop Walter Frere’s *Historical Introduction* to the book appeared five years later. It is often said, and I think truly, that this is the best and most useful piece of work among the numerous things that Frere put out, and it is good to know that an up-to-date revision is now in preparation.

Why did the 1904 book fail eventually? Those responsible for the choice and purchase of hymn books had certainly received a number of minor shocks when they looked into their advance copies. Some of their old favourites had either appeared in reformed and corrected dress or had vanished altogether. Yet it could not have been long before the improvements and advantages of the new book would have been realized, as the dust of controversy died down. But two years was too short a time for the echoes to cease, and in 1906 there appeared *E.H.*, accompanied by a flourish of trumpets from the *Church Times*, which was then in the zenith of its influence, and never ceased to promote this new book. Not only in its correspondence columns,

that curiously distorting mirror in which the inner history of the English Church during our period can be so easily and so inaccurately misread, were the manifold virtues of *E.H.* belauded, but it was also praised on the editorial pages for some of those very changes about which *A. & M. 1904* had been severely trounced only two years previously. Eventually, sad to relate, *A. & M. 1904*, which found itself in competition at the same time both with *E.H.* and with its own elder brother the old *A. & M.* of 1875–89, was found to be falling in circulation as *E.H.* advanced into the field; and its publication had to be suspended for financial considerations. The best of the new matter of 1904 was saved from complete oblivion by being included in a new Second Supplement in 1916.

The victorious *E.H.* is, however, by no means without its critics. It is now used in the majority of our Catholic churches, but in many of them we can hear the same defence: 'We use it because there is at the moment nothing better, and there is not much hope of a proper hymn book unless we can find a millionaire who is prepared to finance it.' *E.H.* is disliked in some places because it lacks warmth, and in others because it is narrow-minded. Certainly it caters for several varieties of -isms and -ologies, so long as they do not come from the other side of the English Channel: but it has cut out, for example, the hymns of the Sacred Heart to be found in *A. & M.*: and it is impregnated with ye olde Englysshe cult, which is easily accounted for by the fact that it appeared at the very time when the 'Sarum Empire' (see chap. v) was at the zenith of its career.

If the contrasting merits of the two books could be compressed into a single sentence, it might suffice to say that *A. & M. 1904* is slightly highbrow, while *E.H.* is on the whole a middle-class book. If this is true, it does sufficiently explain the failure of the one and the success of the other, but it does not settle the question finally. Movement in the hymn book world is slow, for choir-books cost money and get no cheaper, and they are not—unless the church happens to be a wealthy one—renewed until the old ones have literally fallen to pieces: so that the time is hardly ripe for propounding the question as to whether the *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised in 1950* is or is not a success. Just as in 1904, this edition has to compete with its elder brother, the

1875–89–1916 or Standard edition ; which, as the 1950 preface states, ‘will continue to be printed so long as the demand for it continues.’

Several attempts have been made in Catholic churches to improve the situation by preparing small supplementary hymnals. These have been, in most cases, of great value to the individual congregations, and in some cases have reached a wider circle by actual publication. But in the nature of things, being no more than supplements they are no more than attempts to tinker with a larger problem. For the solution of this, it seems that we shall have to go on waiting for our millionaire.

There is another matter which might be brought to the attention of future revisers or compilers of hymn books, if they do not already realize it. Anglican hymnody, in both its words and its tunes, is essentially a product belonging primarily to the nineteenth century, which was its most brilliant period. That many of our hymns date from far earlier centuries does not invalidate this claim, for the greater number of such hymns are translations, made in that same nineteenth century, from Latin, Greek and other languages. The ‘form’ of the English hymn tune presupposes the atmosphere of a well-attended church with a good choir and a singing congregation, such as were to be found all over the country in the period before the 1914 war, but are now less frequent : and our best hymns and tunes are still those of the last century. It is not only at Wembley and on the Western Ocean that the strains of Monk and Dykes have been heard ; there are also such examples as the latter’s ‘Nicæa’ (Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty), for which infantrymen of the 1914–18 war composed new and irreverent words to transform it into an admirable marching song : and what modern musician, what musicologist disinterring old forgotten gems, can ever hope to displace ‘Nicæa’ for that particular hymn ? It is precisely because the hymn tune is so essentially a Victorian product that so few really good tunes have been written in the later period. It is not too much to say that, with the exception of Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw, hardly any composer of the twentieth century has succeeded in producing tunes which are real improvements upon the best work of the nineteenth.

The music of the Mass has an interest all its own, for to some extent it is the standard by which a particular church's or choir's aspirations and achievements are to be judged. Moreover the variations between one church and another in the matter of psalter or hymnal fall squarely into two or three patterns: whereas for the Mass there is an endless variety, an infinite number of subtle gradations. At one end of the scale it is possible to find a complete liturgical rendering of the whole service, with psalmodic recitations for the Proper, but its own music for the introit; and with the Ordinary sung either to a good unaccompanied polyphonic setting or to one of the better nineteenth century services such as Harwood in A \flat or Stanford in B \flat , with the Creed in plainsong. At the other end can be heard what is intended to be, and sometimes is, a congregational service; and at such the Ordinary is often sung to one of the innumerable versions of Merbecke, a setting which is still curiously and most inaccurately described—again in the correspondence columns of the *Church Times*—as being universally known. ‘Widely and badly known’ would be a better description: for it is only necessary to listen to some special gathering at which Merbecke is the jejune fare, and to hear the versions of Stainer and of Harwood, of Royle Shore and of Nicholson, and of sundry other minor editors sung in vociferous competition to realize that ‘universally known’ is a totally misleading phrase in this context. It is to be regretted that the spread of the ‘parish Mass’ (why ‘family’?) has contributed something towards bestowing upon Merbecke a new lease of life just when it seemed to be approaching a well-deserved extinction; for it is no more than a bastard sort of plainsong, neither one thing nor the other, arranged by Merbecke in his 1550 *Boke of Common Praier Noted* after the faulty and inartistic scheme dictated by Cranmer, by which no syllable was ever allowed to have more than one note.

At a service of this character the Proper is not sung: it is replaced by a number of hymns, usually five. A strong reaction set in some years ago against a state of things in which the Mass was, to borrow a phrase used by a friend of mine at the time, ‘waterlogged with hymns.’ But this reaction can be and has been carried too far. If it were practicable to sing the Proper to its own music in our churches, well and good. But it is not practicable,

if only for the reason that printed editions to the English words are not fully available except for the introits. And English hymnody is in itself a fine thing, and a real contribution of our own to the worship-music of the Church, at least for English-speaking peoples : and it ought not to pass into desuetude.

So much for the present. How far does the present usage differ from the comparatively recent past of sixty years ago ?

By comparison with what I used to hear as a boy, the principal developments have been the substitution of the ninefold *Kyrie eleison* (often in its original Greek) for the Responses to the Commandments : the universal inclusion of *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*, which were not sung of old in the 'moderate' churches : and the growth of the simple or more congregational type of service, whether this be plainsong or Merbecke or a modern composition, at the expense of the four-part settings of Victorian times. The change in the composition of our choirs has spurred on the third of these developments, but far greater has been the influence of the 'parish Mass' at 9 or 9.30, which is steadily ousting the older tradition of a full service at the sacrosanct hour of 11 a.m.

Looking down the lists of the services which are in use to-day, it is surprising to find how many of them were in use at the beginning of the century : for example, those by Lloyd, Ireland, Stanford, Harwood and others. With the passage of time, some chaff has been winnowed out from the grain ; but this process has been conducted in a somewhat haphazard manner, with the result that some good grain has been lost and some rubbish retained. In a non-musical work such as this, it will be inappropriate to go more closely into detail, if only because many of the things included in the writer's mind as rubbish may perhaps be pearls of great price to the reader ; and this would necessitate argument and counter-argument. Again, *de gustibus non est disputandum*.

Of the accessions to the service-lists of the present century, by far the most notable is Charles Wood's *Mass in the Phrygian Mode*. This composition was the outcome of a policy which I had the opportunity of inaugurating while I was music-publisher for the Faith Press in 1917. A revival of 'Palestrinean' or unaccompanied music, in which the organ should no longer

dominate and cavort, was under weigh ; and choirmasters were not entirely satisfied with adaptations from the Latin texts. Latin depends, in this context, very largely upon its expanded vocalizations over prominent syllables with good broad open vowels : English is not so rich in opportunities for this display, and has to be treated in different fashion, allowing among other things for blocks of consonants unknown to the Latin, and for words such as 'the' and 'a' which can carry no sort of emphasis whatever without destroying the declamation. It was therefore thought desirable that good English contrapuntists should try their hands at writing afresh for the English text, with its many differences from the Latin over the matters of short vowels, clumps of consonants, baryton endings,⁴ and the like. The name of Charles Wood, and an introduction to him, was provided by Dr. G. R. Woodward, of *Cowley Carol-Book* renown ; and the result is now, I believe, to be found on the music-lists of all our cathedrals as well as on those of numerous parish churches.

In the publication of Charles Wood's service a new experiment was made, that of printing the plainsong Creed in place of a full setting. The new departure was intended to popularize the idea that the Creed, just as much as the *Sursum corda* and such items, should be regarded as belonging to the *accentus* or people's part of the Mass, instead of being treated as part of the *concentus* or choir part. This was an innovation which has been slow to gain ground, but it has been imitated in several settings published since 1918 : it is fairly common nowadays and can be heard in cathedrals as well as parish churches. In this connection we have heard recently that the Lord's Prayer should also be reckoned as part of the *accentus* instead of being a solo for the celebrant, as it was up to 1549. According to the rubric of the Book of Common

⁴Contrary to my inherent and expressed dislike of extended footnotes, I feel impelled to drag in here the diverting example given to me by one of the elders—it may have been Canon Winfred Douglas of Denver, Colorado, but I cannot be quite sure—of the dangers involved in the indiscriminate following of Dr. G. H. Palmer's system for treating the technical point of the abrupt mediation in the second, fifth and eighth Gregorian psalm-tones. The test piece selected was from 1 Kings 13: 27: 'Saddle me the ass: and they saddled him.' The only possible pointing to make sense out of these words is the dactylic or proparoxytone, which Palmer would not allow as it is not used in the Latin (which incidentally never needs it); and according to his method of continual baryton endings, a rising accent with its consequent emphasis would have to be placed on the final syllable : 'Saddle me the ass; and they saddled him.'

Prayer, since 1552 the Paternoster has been, when correctly treated (as at the Coronation of Elizabeth II) said, not sung; though the mid-Victorians who revived the choral Mass made the mistake of treating it as a choral item. This blunder has been followed by a majority of Anglo-Catholic churches ever since, except in those where the use of the 1549 book and the Missal has been restored. But as for the rest, have not those who are accustomed to sing the Paternoster as a choral number been quite unlawfully displaying that curious prophetic spirit which has impelled the English Church so often to anticipate the moves of Roman Catholic authorities? As with Evening Communions, gothic chasubles and sundry other details, so with the Paternoster sung by all, it has not been a case of imitating Rome. *O crea est in altera crure.*

Another innovation antedated Charles Wood's Phrygian Mass by a year or two, that of the descant hymn tune. Settings with the melody in the tenor from the sixteenth century Genevan and Huguenot psalters, and their seventeenth century imitators in England, were of course well known; some of them had appeared in *The English Hymnal* (1906) and in *Songs of Syon* (3rd edn., 1910). But there issued in 1917—also from the Faith Press, as it so happens—the *Tenor Tune Book*, where this treatment was applied to modern hymn tunes also, a new melody being composed for the treble voices. The notion spread like wildfire, and in the next thirty years descants could be heard applied not only to hymn tunes but also to school songs and all kinds of music, not excluding even Merbecke, of whom readers will by this time be as tired as the writer. I am inclined to think that the descant movement has now shot its bolt, and that though it will probably survive for special occasions such as the Gregorian Association festivals, future historians will write it down as a period piece of the first half of the twentieth century. Our little systems have their day and cease to be: in the course of their short lives they do some good and useful work, pass on, and give place to others.

And how does all this musical talk connect with the theme of the Rivers of the Flood? There is at least one particular way in which these matters are worthy of mention. For the general tendency in church music has kept pace with the development

of worship ; and not only with its ornamentation, but also with its steady swing away from the subjective, emotional, sentimental accent of the nineteenth century towards a more robust and objective emphasis in worship. This is only to be expected : as men realized more and more their place and their heritage in a Family, where the individual is not annihilated but is consecrated to the service of the One Body, so the personal emotions of his spiritual experience will be relegated to the sphere of religious poetry for private use, and his expression in song will naturally take the form of borrowing from, translating and imitating more and more the old, authentic, historic formulas of Christian choral worship. ‘A large part of the Christian liturgy has always been taken up with lections and psalms taken directly from the Old Testament, while all the new compositions used there are in the Scriptural tradition, and dominated by Hebraic language and ways of thought. In this way the Bible has constantly exercised its function of being a “canon,” a measuring-rod or standard ; and such compositions which breathe a different atmosphere, whether of the Gnosticism of the second century, or of the humanistic modernism of the nineteenth, are thereby condemned as spurious.’⁵

⁵ Gabriel Hebert, S.S.M., *The Throne of David* (1941), p. 252.

THE IDEAL OF A CHRISTIAN CHURCH

THE title of this chapter is borrowed from that of a book which caused a great sensation in its day. *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, by W. G. Ward, was published in 1844, just at the time when the excitement aroused by the publication of the *Tracts for the Times* had reached its highwater-mark, so that it is hardly surprising to find that its general tenor was interpreted in the feverish atmosphere of that day as an attack upon the Church of England and as an argument in favour of Roman claims. But although this chapter lifts its title from that book, at no point in any of these pages should a single word be interpreted as implying the slightest lack of confidence in the ultimate victory of Catholic Truth in every remote corner of the English Church, or in the validity of Anglican Orders: indeed, their theme has been that of the steady, persistent, overwhelming force of the Rivers of the Flood as they make glad the city of God.

From time to time, and perhaps rather more often than is entirely agreeable, it has been remarked in the writer's hearing, 'We can appreciate the work done by you Anglo-Catholics, but we cannot understand your position.' This plaint is voiced sometimes by English churchpeople, but rather more frequently by Roman Catholics. It is not often heard from the man in the street, because to him 'Catholic but not Roman Catholic' is easy to understand, and is no such paradox as that employed, for example, by S. Paul when he speaks of 'deceivers and yet true'; though the plain man may not have a very deep understanding of the issues involved. And it does seem to be true that it is just those who know most about ecclesiastical history and church order who so often find the greatest difficulty in 'understanding our position.' This must surely mean that there has been some failure hitherto—a partial failure, because the fault must sometimes lie on the other side—by English Catholic apologists to put their case clearly. This chapter may very well turn out to be no

more than another such failure, but at least it will be an attempt.

At this point there arises the temptation to seek out a few terse formulae, if possible smart ones, so as to condense into short phrases the essence of what is believed by Catholics in the English Church. Such a mode of procedure would be quite in accord with much of what passes for intelligent exposition nowadays. Abbot Denys of Pershore used to complain that 'we live on phrases and catchwords.' But phrase-making is bound to fail in the long run; and the lust for over-simplification is not only a temptation to the lazy but also a habit whose results are often quite indistinguishable from the insincere humbug of the Agreed Statement, or *double entendre*. I well remember being struck some twenty or thirty years ago when beholding in the *Daily Mirror* a headline anent some topic or another which was much to the fore at the moment: 'Should Babies Buy Brandy-balls?' (or whatever it was). 'Lord A B says Yes. Sir Charles X says No. Bishop of Z says Yes And No.' I do not particularly suppose that the executive who was responsible for laying out this copy intended to be sardonic, but he certainly succeeded, little realizing with what accuracy he had hit the nail upon the head. The formula-phrase which can be agreed upon by two different sets of people who continue to hold diametrically opposite views, while each retains its own belief and its own interpretation of the formula, has been the curse of the Church of England from the time of Thomas Cranmer to that of South India, attaining to its highest (or rather its lowest) point in the Thirty-nine Articles. Away with it!

And there is another method, which is possibly useful in some cases but is usually frustrating in our field; that of defining by the negative, of stating what a thing is not in order to discover—though sometimes it looks more like trying to avoid discovering—what it actually is. It is rather like peeling an onion, because if we persist in peeling it until the last round of skin has been removed from the onion there is nothing left but tears; no kernel, so to speak. And even worse than the negative method—which, it ought to be conceded, is the principle upon which the whole of the pseudo-Dionysian school of mysticism seems to have been built up—is the double negative. The negative does at least bring us somewhere, even if it is only to a dead end; but the double

negative gets us nowhere, not even to where we were when we first came in. In the skilled hands of Archbishop Randall Davidson it often lands us in a veritable quicksand, which is perhaps where he wanted to leave his hearers at times. With him, and with those of his school, when they felt that they could no longer avoid making a statement, after hedging it round about with a number of qualifications, they would normally decline to state, for example, that they believed this or that, or even that they were willing to believe this or that ; they would say that they were 'not unwilling to believe.' So all that is about to be said here will be said, though with all due reserve as coming from an obscure pen, in the positive and affirmative 'mood,' as the grammarians have it.

The first and most urgent matter to deal with is that of loyalty. Now in the Creed which in its Apostolic version is accepted by all members of the Church, either directly or vicariously, at their baptism ; in the Creed which in its Nicene form they recite at every Sunday or feast-day Mass ; they pledge their faith in the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. This is their first and largest loyalty, and those of whom we have been speaking as the Catholics within the Church of England consist of those to whom this allegiance comes always and instinctively first, and for whom all other loyalties, to the Church of England or to the Anglican Communion, are made to rank as subservient to this over-riding, all-embracing, loyalty to the One Holy Church. And it is here that the conflict of loyalties often arises, for the Elizabethan Unsettlement has left us a dubious legacy in its formularies, whether those of the Prayer Book or the Thirty-nine Articles, of uncertain and ambiguous phrases which are susceptible of being interpreted in either a Catholic or a Protestant sense. It is often claimed, and I think with justice, that this ambiguity was intentional and deliberate, designed for political reasons, with the object of including as many doubtful consciences as possible within the ring-fence of the Church of England as by Law Established. But at least the ambiguity, whether intentional or not, does exist, and it has undoubtedly contributed to the unsatisfactory nature of many of the pronouncements of Victorian (and some later) bishops, whose use of the *double entendre* has been

in the very best Anglican tradition. The Catholic, with his immediate preference for that which is his birthright, the tradition of the historic Church of earlier centuries and of wider dissemination, knows at once that anything brought in at the Reformation which touches upon doctrine, or tends in unessential matters to favour some Lutheran, Calvinist, Zwinglian, Presbyterian, Anabaptist, or other type of protestantism, is *sui generis* wrong and false, or at least gravely suspect and without a shred of claim upon his loyalty. That it has taken a century and a quarter since the beginnings of the Catholic Revival to get thus far merely means that it is a long job and that it is not yet completed : but he knows that this is no reason for losing heart. Does not God take a whole summer to make one rose? And what has been settling down for three hundred years is not going to be swiftly and easily removed.

Indeed, the more seriously he holds this position, the stronger is his loyalty to the English Church, and the more hurt—and angry, for he is yet human—is he when bishops or editors denounce him as being disloyal. I believe it was the late Monsignor Ronald Knox who in his Anglican days pointed out long years ago that there is no particular virtue in the loyalty which upholds a system in which there is nothing with which the holder disagrees ; but that when there is a great deal with which disagreement is felt, and the feeler thereof yet continues to serve in the body which displays and even glories in so many blemishes, he and he alone is manifesting the true virtue of loyalty. And the natural corollary to this line of thought is that the only disloyal members of the Church of England are those who, instead of serving her to the best of their ability and in their sure knowledge of the Faith, have left her for other Communions.

Having reached this point, the reader will quite reasonably ask for some definition of terms. There are three possible lines of answer to the request for a definition of the Catholic Church.¹ The widest of these is that of the *coetus fidelium*, which is to say the total aggregation of all those who have been baptized into

¹ A recent essay which throws light on this subject, by an Old Catholic theologian, will be found on p. 30 of *Barriers to Unity* (1959), ed. Michael Bruce. For an excellent older book, not yet out of date, see T. A. Lacey, *Unity and Schism* (1917).

the Body of Christ, the Apostolic society which He founded. The narrowest is that held by the great majority of Roman Catholic controversialists, who maintain that a visible communion with and obedience to the see of S. Peter at Rome is essential.

i. Of these two answers, the former though strictly true is inadequate because, as a result of human frailty in past centuries rather more than in the present, it leaves us with a vague amorphous body, outwardly divided and speaking with as many tongues as there are protestant sects—which number some hundreds if we are to include all the American varieties. Moreover it fails to take notice of the twofold nature of the Church, which is at the same time both *discens* and *docens*; also, copying the democratic pattern of so much modern thought, it appears to assume that verity of teaching is to be tested and measured by counting heads, instead of by listening to and continuing ‘steadfastly in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.’²

ii. The second, or papalist, position is strictly speaking *per se* untenable by Anglicans of any shade. Many of us are quite inaccurately styled ‘papalists,’ and we do not particularly object to this, although the term is used in a disrespectful and pejorative sense. We are those who, as the nickname is meant to imply, believe that the natural and lawful visible head of the Catholic Church on this earth is or should be the Pope; that it is most unfortunate that we are separated from him, although he does not actually repudiate us and goes so far as to give his breviary to a travelling Anglican clergyman by way of a friendly and brotherly gesture; and that we most earnestly desire that this separation should come to an end. Also we hold in general that the nature of his proper authority is neither that of a dictator, nor that of a democratically elected president, but of a nature which is now paternal, now monarchic. (In actual fact, the pattern is often and of necessity bureaucratic rather than monarchic.) For true authority comes not from below but from above, and this is most certainly the case in the sphere of religion. As Englishmen, most of us would be happy to see the monarchy

² Acts 2 : 42.

of Rome developing more on the constitutional or limited-monarchy pattern with which we are familiar in secular matters and which we prize so highly, and less on the absolute-monarchy pattern under which it is presented to us by controversial and some other exponents. But we are not truly papalists any more than we are recusants. It is the term which is inaccurate, not the implications conveyed, or the broad facts of our belief. If we must have a nickname, I would suggest that we who are often called 'papalists' would better be called 'papistical,' which is a good old word in the stout controversies of some bygone centuries, though with a rather different connotation.

For the assertion above, that the strictly papalist definition of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church is *per se* untenable by Anglicans, some justification might be needed by some, though not by all. The reason for this point is that the Roman Catholic controversialists who are anti-Anglican declare that our Orders are no Orders, that our Priesthood is no Priesthood, our Sacraments no Sacraments, and (most of them, at least) that Rome has finally spoken her mind to this effect. This we know to be wrong, both from our historical knowledge and (for those who are not entirely deficient in the intuitional or mystical experience) from our intimate personal knowledge. And if this latter claim be cried down as mere subjectivism, let me say here that many years ago I was able to adduce at Oxford, in the presence of no less redoubtable a theologian than Father D'Arcy, s.j., two cases in which the validity of Anglican Orders had been attested by *objective* evidence, one of them in connection with the Blessed Sacrament, and the other in relation to the Sacrament of Penance. There must be many who are aware of similar cases. Their nature is such that it is seldom or never possible to present them publicly as demonstrable facts in evidence: but they do allow us to appeal, in the matter of Anglican Orders, from the Holy Father (Leo XIII) imperfectly informed of the facts in 1894, to some future occupant of the throne of Peter who may possibly have been able to experience for himself a first-hand knowledge of the reality of our Sacraments *ex opere operato*.

iii. The general position of the Roman Catholic controversialist—which is, of course, not held *de fide* by many scholarly and

œcumically-minded ecclesiastics on the Continent—being then out of court for us, and the ‘widest possible’ interpretation of the *coetus fidelium* type being, while not untrue, impracticable, we are obliged to continue the search for a good definition of terms. What is a Catholic within the English Church? ‘We believe,’ as in the statement by the XXI already given on page 94 ‘that the Church of these Provinces is a true part of that Church which received the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost.’ ‘We stand,’ as Bishop Weston said in his speech quoted on page 95, ‘for the Catholic Faith common to East and West. . . . We are not a party: we are those in the Anglican Communion who refuse to be limited by party rules and party creeds. Our appeal is to the Catholic Creed, to Catholic worship and Catholic practice.’ To these dicta it should be sufficient to add the reminder that a very adequate starting-point will be furnished by those same Anglican formularies which we criticize so freely and set about revising with so ferocious an appetite. We have the Prayer Book, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Canons of 1604 from which to pick; of which the best-known and most often used is the Prayer Book, whose title page provides us with an excellent clue. Its heading, ‘The Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England,’ sets the matter in its true perspective and proportion.

The Catholic Church is something larger than the Church of England: it is much wider and it is much older: its extension both in time and in space is immeasurably greater. The Tractarians were well aware not only of this truth, which was heavily obscured in their time, but also of its central and fundamental importance for their mission. Wisely, soundly and effectively they quoted the Vincentian Canon, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. And this Canon still remains a wholly adequate yardstick by which we can measure our problems, just so long as we apply the test with common sense to the things that matter, and do not fall into the mistake (which some have done) of frittering away its effectiveness by applying it to quite inessential points of outward regulations. Nor must we be led away into the archaicisms or antiquarianisms of any particular century. *Quod semper* does not mean from the Apostolic age, or from the Age of the Fathers, or the First Six Centuries, or the First Four

General Councils; nor does it mean the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth. It means just what it says—*always*; it connotes all ages, past, present and—in fact, though it may appear at first sight to be transcendental nonsense—future. For the City of God, the New Jerusalem (not built in England's green and pleasant land but) coming down from heaven as a bride adorned to meet her husband, is above and beyond time and space, and the things which belong unto her peace are hid from our dusty earthly eyes. In the glory that *shall be* revealed will fade into nothingness those impossibilities and incompatibilities which we cannot resolve or reconcile to-day. The anomalies of the Church of South India Scheme, the puzz'le of the Anglican Establishment, the condemnation of Anglican Orders by Pope Leo XIII, the agelong quarrel of the *Filioque* which divided East and West, will all be put straight one day. That is our faith, and our Hope: and Hope is the evidence of things not seen.

Does all this accurately reflect the official position of the English Church in recent times as exhibited by her apostolic rulers? Hardly. They have not as a body displayed that instinctive loyalty to the Church which is the glory and the boast of the so-called 'disloyal' Catholics; with them it has not been an invariable and instinctive matter of the Church first and the English Establishment, or the Anglican Communion, second. As a private letter from a judicious and trusted leader—no mere 'extreme young man'—to a friend of mine written in 1960 says: 'The episcopate's idea of the Church is, quite sincerely, based on conformity to the B.C.P. (and "*permitted*" deviations). It has nothing at all to do with Faith or belief.'

Admitting that the above quotation sums up in a rather sweeping manner, and is no more than an opinion written *currente calamo*, the fact remains that the actual proceedings of the Anglican episcopate in the first half of this century—and *a fortiori* since the loss of the Nonjurors in 1691—have been such as to give rise to that estimate. Time and again have pronouncements been heard from the episcopal bench in which 'the Church' is spoken of with all high respect as having a quasi-divine or even divine authority; but when the context is examined it is

found that 'the Church' does not mean the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, the Body of Christ, but at the most, the Anglican Communion ; and at the least, the two provinces of Canterbury and York, the Church of England as by Law Established. I have referred some way back (p. 61) to a particularly glaring example in the career of the 'Life and Liberty Movement.'

All this rather suggests that the right title for the High-Church-plus-Central-plus-No-party party which is at present so vociferous and influential should be 'The Two-Church party.' Their whole custom of speech, which must be taken to indicate their whole manner of thought, betrays the fact that they instinctively think of the Church of Rome and the Church of England as two separate, mutually exclusive, bodies. Externally, the facts may well appear to agree with this approach ; but internally, and as expressed in the Creed commonly called Nicene, the Church is One, not Two. The Catholic knows this and naturally thinks and acts in accordance with this belief. The high-churchman of to-day practically ignores it.

We who are Catholics in the English Church go on then in our pilgrimage, resting content in the will of God which does not permit us, for our sins, to approach any nearer than the summit of Mount Horeb whence we may view the Promised Land afar off, down the centuries to come : though it may be, in God's infinite and unmerited goodness and mercy, in our lifetime, or in the lifetime of our children or our children's children that we shall see the outward Unity of the Church and peace upon Israel : or perhaps not even then. But it will be so some day : some day the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, visible and united, will be once again co-terminous with the *coetus fidelium*, and the Kingdom of God upon this earth shall be seen unmistakably as it was in the days of the Apostles ; when men took knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus ; when Catholics were known and recognized for what they were (and herded into the Coliseum). Meanwhile in England and throughout the Anglican Communion we hold the ground that has been won, and we continue in the apostles' doctrine, in the breaking of bread and in prayers, sowing and planting and reaping by

turn in the territory recovered, refreshed and fertilized by the Rivers of the Flood, going forward continually in patience and in perseverance, in faith and in hope,

And nightly pitch our moving tent
A day's march nearer Home.

POSTSCRIPT

AS the proofs of this book came from the Press, the news reached us that Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher was about to retire in a blaze of glory, having paid an historic visit of courtesy to His Holiness Pope John XXIII: and that Archbishop Michael Ramsey of York was to succeed him on the throne of Canterbury. This double event should be noted here, if only to underline the fact that a new milestone has been reached along the way; and a new chapter opened, with high hopes for the future.

INDEX

(Chiefly of Persons)

- Abercrombie, Dr. Nigel, 15 n⁴, 96
All Saints, Middlesbrough, 32-4
Allchin, Revd. Donald, 113
Anglo-Catholic Congress, 67-75, 97
—101
Anson, Peter F., 71 n⁵, 113, 114,
116 nn^{4, 5}, 117, 128 n¹
Architecture, Church, 128-30
Ascension, Lavender Hill, 28, 55,
129
Baverstock, Revd. A. H., 87 n²⁰,
89 n²³
Bell, Bishop G. K. A., 22 n³, 25 n¹¹,
39 n⁶, 40, 43 n¹¹, 70 n³, 72 n⁶,
77, 82, 96 n⁹, 107, 108
Benediction of the Blessed Sacra-
ment, 24, 73, 94
Benson, Archbishop E. W., 23, 53
Benson, Father R. M., s.s.j.e., 42
Biggart, Father Frank, c.r., 69
Birkbeck, W. J., 48
Bishops, election of, 20, 57-9
Body, Canon George, 39, 40
Book of Common Prayer, *see* Prayer
Book
Bown, Revd. G. H., 41, 42
Boycott, Revd. D. Morse-, 56 n⁸,
68 n¹, 73 n⁸
Brightman, Revd. Dr. F. E., 78,
79 n⁸, 85
Briscoe, Revd. John, 41
Bruce, Revd. Michael, 147 n¹
Bucknall, Cedric, 42
Bunyan, John, 5, 35
Burgess, Francis, 132
Burn, Revd. J. S. L., 32, 33, 119
Butterfield, William, 17, 129

Caldey, 71
Camden Society, 46
Canticles at Evensong, 134
Carpenter, Very Revd. S. C.,
44 n¹⁴
Carshalton, 30
Catholic Movement, tendencies to
divisions within, 35, 37ff., 90
Cats, interior life of, 6
Central Party, 88
Chambers, J. D., 46

Chandler, Bishop Arthur, 69, 100,
101
Church Association, 21
Church Socialist League, 121, 122
Church Times, 16, 26, 39, 50 n⁴,
52, 83, 93, 123, 136, 139
Clarke, Revd. C. P. S., 37 n¹,
61 n⁵, 92 n³
Clarke, Revd. Dr. W. K. Lowther,
70, 79, 81 n¹¹, 85, 94
Coles, Revd. Canon V. S. S., 41,
42 n⁹
Common Prayer Book, *see* Prayer
Book
Comper, Sir Ninian, 129
Convocation, Houses of, 22, 61-6,
77, 79-81, 105-11
Coventry Cathedral, 129
Cox, Revd. John Bell-, 22, 58
Creighton, Bishop Mandell, 27, 31,
35, 36, 52, 87
Creighton, Louise, 31 n⁴
Cury, 26

D'Arcy, Father, s.j., 149
Davidson, Archbishop Randall
Thomas, 22, 25, 28, 39-43, 61,
62, 70, 71, 77, 78, 83-6, 91,
96 n⁹, 102, 103, 110, 146
Dearmer, Revd. Dr. Percy, 48, 54,
55
Denison, Ven. Archdeacon, 21, 64
Denys, Abbot of Nashdom, 115, 145
Descants, 142
Dibdin, Sir Lewis, 62, 96
Dix, Revd. Dom Gregory, 85,
90 n²⁵
Dolling, Revd. R. R., 39-41, 119,
120
Douglas, Revd. C. E., 60, 64, 80
Douglas, Canon Winfred, 135 n³,
141 n⁴

Edghill, Revd. Ernest A., 63, 119
Elizabethan Settlement, 15
Embry, Revd. J., 31, 33, 35
Enabling Act, 61, 78
English Church Union, 24, 92, 99-
101
English Hymnal, 47, 48, 136, 137

- Epiclesis, 79
 Evangelical Movement, 20
- Faith Craft-Works Ltd., The, 60
 Faith Press Ltd., The, 59, 60, 112,
 140
 Federation of Catholic Priests, 93,
 94
 Fisher, Archbishop Geoffrey, 50, 77,
 78, 106, 110, 111, 153
 Forse, Revd. E. J. G., 49 n³
 Fortescue, Revd. Dr. Adrian, 56
 Frere, Bishop W. H., C.R., 70-2, 74,
 83, 98, 115, 136
 Fullerton, Canon T. G., 32 n⁶
- Garbett, Archbishop C. F., 57 n¹,
 71, 72 n⁶, 91, 98, 109
 Gore, Bishop Charles, C.R., 16, 71,
 73, 103, 123
 Gould, Revd. Sabine Baring-, 14,
 20 nn^{1, 2}, 44 n¹³, 77 n¹
- Hack, Revd. Bartle S., 43
 Haigh, Bishop Mervyn, 91
 Halifax, Charles Lindley Viscount,
 23, 32, 67, 69, 73 n⁸, 85, 99-101,
 & pl. II
 Hamilton, Bishop E. K. C., 108
 Harcourt, Sir William Vernon, 27,
 28
 Hatcham, S. James' Church, 22
 Hawker, Revd. R. S., 44
 Headington Parish Church, 26, 43
 Headlam, Bishop A. C., 79
 Headlam, Revd. Stewart, 118, 121,
 122
 Hebert, Father Gabriel, S.S.M.,
 143 n⁵
 Helmore, Thomas, 132, 135
 Henly, Revd. O. P., 24, 25
 Henson, Bishop H. Hensley, 68, 80,
 98
 Hereford diocese and chapter, 57
 Hill, H. W., 24
 Hole, Revd. Donald, 87 n²⁰, 89 n²³
 Hymns and Hymnals, 135-8, and
 see *English Hymnal*
- Ignatius, Father, 44, 114
 Ingram, Bishop A. F. Winnington-
 71, 72, 92, 93, 98
 Ingram, Kenneth, 66
 'Interim rite,' 39
 Iremonger, Very Revd. F. A., 59 n²,
 61 n³, 62 n⁶, 105, 106
- Jackson, Bishop Vibert, 31, 32
 Jellicoe, Revd. Basil, 119, 124
- Jones, Very Revd. Dr. A. S., 55
Jus liturgicum, 85, 86
- Keble, Revd. John, 15, 19, 97
 Kensit, John, 25, 27-31, 34, &
 pl. III
 Kenyon, Ruth, 122 n²
 Kidd, Revd. Dr. B. J., 42, 43, 86,
 115
 Kilburn, Revd. E. E., 44
 King, Bishop Edward, 22, 59
 Kirk, Bishop Kenneth E., 72, 101
 Knox, Mgr. R. A., 41, 72 n⁷, 147
 Knox, Revd. Wilfred, O.G.S., 13,
 44, 45, 56 n⁹
- Lacey, Canon T. A., 48, 49, 57, 58,
 147 n¹
 Lambeth Conference, 106, 114
 'Lambeth Opinions,' 30, 31, 35, 39,
 53
 Lang, Archbishop Cosmo Gordon,
 72, 98, 103, 128
 Lansing, Alfred, 68
 Lavender Hill, see Ascension
 Lawson, Wilfrid, 60
 Le Couteur, Revd. J. A., 34, 119
 Legalism, 49, 62
 Lewis, Tom Noyes, 60
 Liddon, Dr. H. P., 37 n¹
 Lock, Dr. Walter, 41-3
 Lockhart, J. G., 23 n⁷
 Lowder, Revd. C. F., 119, 120
- Mackonochie, Revd. A. H., 17, 21
 MacLagan, Archbishop W. D., 33
 Markham, Sir Frank, 18, 25 n¹⁰
 Mascall, Revd. Dr. E. L., 107 n⁹, 109
 Maskell, William, 46
 Maycock, Canon E. A., 89 n²¹
 Merewether, Dean, 57
 Merritt, Preb. E. D., 81
 Middlesbrough, 34, and see All
 Saints, and S. John's
 Miles Platting, S. John's, 22
 Miller, H., 29
 Mitchell, Albert, 81
 Moulsdale, Revd. Dr. S. R. P.,
 39 n⁵
 Music, Church, 130-43
- Newman, Cardinal, 19
 Noel, Revd. Conrad, 121
 Noel, Revd. Montague H., 29, 30
- Office, the daily, 133, 134
 Ommanney, Revd. G. C., 33, 119
 Osborne, Revd. C. E., 40 n⁷
 Oxford Movement, 19, 20

- Paget, Bishop Francis, 24
 Papalists, 148, 149
Parson's Handbook, The, 48-53
 Pearce, Bishop E. H., 58
 Penzance, Lord, 22, 49
 Perkins, Revd. J. H. T., 53, 54
 Permeation, 63-6, 103
 Plainsong, 130-2, 141 n⁴
 Porcelli, Colonel, 28
 Prayer Book (Book of Common Prayer, 1662), 15, 41, 44, 150
 Prayer Book, Proposed, of 1927-8,
see Ch. VIII
 Prayer Book Revision Society, 77
 Preston, Ronald, 125 n⁶
 Privy Council, Judicial Committee of the, 21, 58
 Psalters, Plainsong and Anglican, 131, 132
 Pugin, Augustus Welby, 46, 129
 Pusey, Revd. Dr., 13, 19, 37, 69,
 118, 127
 Ramsey, Archbishop Michael, 109,
 153
 Rawlinson, Bishop A. E. J., 42
 Reckitt, Maurice, 122 n³ 126 n⁷,
 127 n⁸
 Religious Communities, 112-17
 —— Advisory Council of, 116
 —— Conference of 1930, 115, 116
 —— Ordination of members of,
 114, 115
 Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, 24, 33, 91-4
 Riley, Athelstan, 48, 67, 100, 112
 Riley, Revd. Harold, 80 n¹⁰
 Rome, Roman Catholics, 38, 69,
 70, 73, 74, 142, 144, 148, 149,
 152, 153
 Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, 24, 28, 76
 Rubrics, Nature of, 49
 Rutherford, Henry, 60
 S. Agnes, Hove, 134
 S. Alban's, Holborn, 17, 68
 S. Barnabas, Oxford, 29, 30, 42
 S. Columba's, Haggerston, 34, 55
 S. Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens, 28, 30
 S. George's-in-the-East, 20, 21
 S. John's, Middlesbrough, 32
 S. Mary's, Primrose Hill, 48
 S. Matthew's, Sheffield, 33
 S. Paul's, Lorrimore Square, 46 n¹
 Sedding, J. D., 129
 Selwyn, Very Revd. Dr. Gordon, 80, 105
 Shaw, Revd. C. P., 93
 Sheppard, Revd. H. R. L., 34,
 59 n²
 Simpson, Revd. Dr. W. J. Sparrow,
 37 n¹
 Smith, Bishop Rocksborough, 98,
 101
 Smith, Revd. H. Maynard, 75 n¹⁰,
 94 n⁸, 123 n⁴
 Smyth, Canon Charles, 72 n⁶, 91 n¹
 Society of SS. Peter & Paul, 60
 Society of the Faith, 60
 South India, Church of, 65, 66
 Stone, Revd. Dr. Darwell, 73, 81
 Stratton, Bishop N. D. J., 32
 Symon, Canon Dudley, 15 n², 16
 Tabernacles, 39, 123
 Tait, Archbishop A. C., 22, 61, 110
 Temple, Archbishop Frederick, 36,
 53
 Temple, Archbishop William, 59 n²,
 103-6, 108, 123
 Tooth, Revd. Arthur, 22, 119
 Townshend, Revd. Father, 43
 Tract, Revd. and Hon. A. Hanbury-, 48
 Tractarians, Tractarian Movement,
 13, 19, 20, 21, 25, 35, 39, 57,
 120, 150
 Tremenheere, Revd. G. H., 54
 Underhill, Bishop Francis, 72, 73
 Uniformity of Public Worship, Act for the, 14, 15, 19, 21, 49
 Walworth, 34, 46, 120
 Wand, Bishop William, 72 n⁴, 100
 Ward, W. G., 144
 Wason, Revd. Sandys, 44
 Waugh, Evelyn, 72 n⁷
 Westall, Revd. H. H., 28
 Westminster Abbey, 52-4, & pl. IV
 Weston, Bishop Frank, 68, 69, 74,
 75, 95, 123, 124
 Williams, Revd. Dr. N. P., 38 n²,
 41
 Williamson, H. Ross, 17 n⁶
 Wolverton S. Mary, 24-6
 Wood, Charles, 140, 141
 Wordsworth, Bishop Christopher,
 44